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AN ANALYSIS OF THE MODERN COMMENTARIES ON THE NĀSADĪYA SŪKTA (Ṛgveda X.129)

By

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I. Introduction

1.1. The *Nāsadīya Sūkta* is the most abstract, philosophical, and perhaps the latest in the series of cosmogonic hymns in the *Ṛgveda*. The idea that the nature of the ultimate creative force of the universe was itself open to examination appears for the first time in these lines, and in spite of the fact that the commentators disagree in their estimation of the success of the hymn as a whole, every one of them admits the importance of this very early attempt at philosophical speculation. Ṛgvedic thought displays, during its later periods, a definite trend towards monotheism and even monoism, and this particular *sūkta* stands as the foremost example of these developments. It is unique in so far as it is the only cosmogonic hymn in the *Ṛgveda* which does not attempt to comprehend the universe as a unity by initially establishing some form of personal divinity who is, in one way or another, entirely responsible for the creation that follows, and who is Himself not liable to examination. This is not to say that the *sūkta* actually defines in some way the essence of Godhead, or even that it attempts to do so—it is enough that the possibility of such a properly philosophical investigation was presented here at all, especially when we take into account the predominately theological orientation of the entire *Ṛgveda*.

1.2. This hymn, like any other truly creative insight, attempts to deal with an old problem in a new way, which often times involves a complete redefinition of the problem itself. Inconsistancy and a certain difficulty in expressing a radically new idea in the old conceptual framework of the language are common obstacles to such creative thought. There are varying opinions as to whether or not the *Nāsadīya Sūkta* overcomes these obstacles. One of the hymn's most severe critics, W. D. Whitney, writes :

> ...it exhibits the characteristics weaknesses of all Hindu theosophy; a disposition to deal with words as if they were things, to put forth paradox and insoluble contradiction as profundity, and to get rid of anthropomorphic divinities by attributing a personality to the universe itself.[1]

On the other hand, a more enthusiastic commentator calls it " ... the greatest forerunner of the monistic trend which culminated in the *Upaniṣads*.... the *Nāsadīya* hymn expresses what is probably the crowning glory of Ṛgvedic speculative thought."[2] It is seen as the predecessor, or even the actual basis of everything from the *Sāṅkhya* to the *Bhagavadgītā*. One scholar titles it " the nucleus of *Vedānta* ".[3] This variety of opinion on the part of the commentators is a testament to the complexity and the importance of the *Nāsadīya Sūkta*.

1.3. In his book *The Poet Philosophers of the Ṛgveda*, C. K. Raja defines three general approaches to cosmology within the hymns.[4] The first is by a process of construction, so that the universe is supposed to be built by some God or gods, in the same way that a workman would build a house, or a craftsman would fashion a piece of jewlery. The obvious problem here was that " ....the Vedic poet was at a loss to say definitely what was the timber used by the gods in the building of the world. "[5] The difficulty was bridged by the method Raja calls creation by transformation. The *Puruṣa Hymn* (X.90.) is the type here, and the material for the creation is taken from the God's own body. Eventually though, the question of the origin of this God was raised, and the *Nāsadiya Sūkta* seems to be the resultant approach to creation, termed creation by evolution. The immediate predecessors of this notion are visible in the several pairs of words throughout the *Ṛgveda* which contrast the " infinite unmoved " with the " finite changing ".[6] The recognition that a finite is a finite because there is a beyond grows from this contrast, and blooms in X.129., with the conception that " the infinite is known by itself. There is no knowing nor a knowledge nor a knower, and as such, it is not an object of knowledge through a process within some subject. From the point of view of the finite, it can be designated as what is not."[7] Most of the commentaries on the hymn treat it as an exposition of the view that the universe evolves out of some undefinable source. They disagree though, not only in their estimation of the *sūkta's* success in clearly stating this view, but mainly in their interpretation of the conceptualizations which it is couched in, and the implications of certain specific words which are used in the text. Is the hymn theistic, or atheistic? Both positions are argued. What is the significance of the fifth verse? It is undoubtably a metaphor, but a metaphor of what? Finally, what is the role of *Kāma*, mentioned in the fourth stanza, in the process of creation? These are the central questions that the commentators raise. In an effort to sort out the several answers that are given to them, we will examine each verse of the *Nāsadīya Sūkta* separately, along with its own various interpretations.

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[1] Whitney (1911), p. cxi

[2] Mehta (1956), p. 71

[3] Desai (1972), p. 3

[4] Raja (1973), pp. 221-252

[5] Deshmukh (1933), p. 325

[6] Viz. : *sthātus caratham* (I.58.5., 68.1., 70.4.); *sthātuḥ* and *jagataḥ* (I.159.3., IV.50.7., VII.60.2). For these and additional examples, see Raja (1973), p. 329

II. Analysis

2.1.

१ नास॑दासी॒न्नो सदा॑सीत्त॒दानीं॒ नासी॒द्रजो॒ नो व्यो॑मा प॒रो यत् ।
किमाव॑रीवः॒ कुह॒ कस्य॒ शर्म॒न्नम्भः॒ किमा॑सी॒द्गह॑नं गभी॒रम् ॥

Ṛgveda X. 129.1

2.1.1. Bloomfield interprets this stanza as a description of "primordial chaos",[8] something akin to the narrative given in the Biblical version of *Genisis*. Most of the other commentators agree with this view, yet a problem occurs in that many of the translations done by European scholars give the impression that the verse denies existence in any form, and on this point we witness the first of many occassions where the battle lines are drawn between Indian and European scholars. Bhumananda Sarasvati represents the majority of the Indian translators when, speaking of Bloomfield, Wilson, Macdonell, and others, he says :

> As interpretors these gentlemen have one and all miserably failed... (the correct interpretation of the verse is) the words '*nā sat*' and '*no sat*' do not deny existence, but, on the other hand, they assert it most forcibly. The denial of *sat* and *asat* brings out clearly the idea that God, the pure existant, is beyond these two categories.[9]

M. K. Desai is in agreement with this theistic interpretation and tells us: "He (God) has before him not a grand nothing, but the grand everything. But that is no *thing*...the inadequacy of words is felt."[10] This is all in direct contrast to the point of view most often espoused by the Europeans. For example, Keith, though he has great admiration for the *sūkta*, is convinced that it is at least agnostic, if not actually atheistic. Summing up his impressions, he writes : " While much of its content is repeated in the latter philosophy, its spirit of doubt is wholly alien to the classical philosophical systems of India. "[11] This controversy revolves for the most part around the first, sixth, and seventh stanzas, and as we shall discover, it appears irresolvable on the basis of any objective criteria, as for instance grammar or syntax. On the contrary, the discrepancy seems to be the product of two radically different conceptual systems, one or the other of which is taken for granted by each commentator and forms the most basic foundation of his own perspective.

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[7] Raja (1973), p. 222

[8] Bloomfield (1908), p. 235

[9] Sarasvatī (1936), p. 325

[10] Desai (1972), p. 5

2.1.2. One final interesting comment on the verse comes from Raja. He points out that " *tadānīṃ* " must actually mean " in that state ", rather than " at that time ", since the verse is probably not referring to a temporal sequence of events.[12] The analogy is given of the threads which make up a piece of fabric, and which are related to that fabric in a causal though non-temporal fashion.

2.2.

२ न मृ॒त्युरा॑सीद॒मृतं॒ न तर्हि॒ न रात्र्या॒ अह्न॑ आसीत्प्रके॒तः ।
आनी॑दवा॒तं स्व॒धया॒ तदेकं॒ तस्मा॑द्धा॒न्यन्न प॒रः किं च॒नास॑ ॥

Ṛgveda X.129.2

2.2.1. Whitney is of the opinion that the entire *sūkta* has been incredably over-rated, and his comments on this verse are made accordingly.

> He (the seer) deludes himself with the belief that by first denying absolutely everything, and then denying all but an indefinable something, he has bridged over the abyss between non-existence and existence, and given a start to the development of the universe.[13]

It is perhaps conceivable that in this case Whitney has missed the point of both the first and the second verses—at least, if Sarasvati is correct and the first stanza does not in any way deny existence altogether, then Whitney's objection is effectively neutralized. In accordance with his previous interpretation, Sarasvati holds that " *amṛtaṃ* " does not flatly exclude anything immortal, but only those embodied forms of life associated with individual souls.[14] Other than that One (" *tad ekaṃ* "), nothing else existed, so that there can properly be no distinction drawn between immortality and mortality. The fact that it breathed (" *ānīt* ") without air (" *avātam* ") is further indication of the correctness of this interpretation, according to Sarasvati, because it demonstrates that the air did not exist independantly, but that all the elements were dependant on this primal cause.[15] "*Svadhayā*" means "with His own creative power, i.e., Primordial Matter (*Prakṛti*)".[16] So here we have the "Vedic Trinity" of God ("*tad ekaṃ*"), *Puruṣa* ("*amṛtaṃ*"), and *Prakṛti* ("*svadhayā*"). Or, if we can believe Desai, the trinity being spoken of here is that of the three *Guṇas*:

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[11] Keith (1925), p. 435
[12] Raja (1973), p. 223
[13] Whitney (1911), p. cx
[14] Sarasvati (1936), p. 329

> That was absolutely still. That was having perfect rest. The plateau of peace, it is perhaps intended to show, rests on the pinnacles of three qualities or *Guṇas*, namely *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, characterised by the harmony of splendor, dynamics, and stability.[17]

Either way, what we find is an allussion to the *Sāṅkhya* system, and on this point there is accord among all the commentators, although not for the same reasons. Most of them are inclined to see the first direct indication of *Sāṅkhya* in later verses.

2.2.2. Bloomfield is a little more circumspect than Whitney in his words regarding this stanza: "It is difficult to imagine a more cautious, or even a more successful attempt to conceive and express a first cause or principal without personality."[18] Yet, he observes that it is furnished with anthropomorphic breath. Raja explains that "breath" is here a symbol of life, and indicates something more abstract than mere anthropomorphism. It is intended as a demonstration that "...the infinite has life through its own power."[19] In connection with this, we note that Sāyaṇa sees "*svadhā*" as a synonym of "*māyā*", which, if correct, would establish a connection between this Ṛgvedic hymn and the much later system of *Vedānta*.[20]

2.3.

३ तम॑ आसी॒त्तम॑सा गू॒ळ्हमग्रे॑ऽप्रके॒तं स॑लि॒लं सर्व॑मा इ॒दम् ।
तु॒च्छ्येना॒भ्वपि॑हितं॒ यदासी॒त् तप॑स॒स्तन्म॑हि॒नाजा॑यतैक॑म् ॥

Ṛgveda X.192.3.

2.3.1. Discussion of this verse pivots on four key words: *tamas*, *abhu*, *tuchyena*, and *tapasas*. The first two lines are concluded by Raja to be a continuation of the description of the universe before creation. "*Tamas*" is a negative interpretation of the state of affairs, and "*abhu*" is a positive one. "The entirety of this infinite may be spoken of as such an expanse of water without any distinguishing mark in it."[21] In other words, here is a continuation of other similar metaphors in verses one and two. Desai understands *tamas* in a slightly different manner. First of all, contradicting most European scholars, he points out that "this *tamas* cannot be darkness, which is already negatived in the sixth line, which has said that there was no special feature of night then."[22] (The hymn does not teach creation out of nothing.) His synonym for "*tamas*" is then "immobility", which is given a very positive identification by linking it with the word "*tuchyena*" in line three, which he translates as "husk", adding that :

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[15] Sarasvati (1936), p. 329

[16] Sarasvati (1936), p. 328

[17] Desai (1972), p. 8

[18] Bloomfield (1908), p. 236

[19] Raja (1973), p. 224

[20] Sāyaṇa, as quoted in Telang & Chaubey (1965), p. 450

> Commentators have treated husk as an insignificant nothing. But husk is chaff. It is as much a need for creation as the grain inside, that stands for the potential *Rajas*. The grain without covering cannot sprout.[23]

The "*tamas*" described here in the verse is undoubtably one and the same with the *Sāṅkhya* system's *Tamas Guṇa*, according to Desai, while the second and third lines refer to *Rajas* (aroused to manifestation in the form of *tapas*), and "*tad ekaṃ*" in the last line speaks of *Sattva* "in its serene most state".[24]

2.3.2. The mention of *tapas* in the last line has been interpreted to give several variant meanings. Bloomfield here as elsewhere seems to walk a thin line between the theistic and atheistic interpretations of the *sūkta*. He stresses that *tapas* must be understood along with all its possible connotations of devotionalism :

> ...the fundamental force is itself put forth by, or is born from, devotion. This devotional fervor marks either another start at a primeval cause, or, paradoxical as this may seem, is the devotional fervor of the yet uncreated sages.[25]

Keith disagrees, in part at least, when he points out : "*Tapas*...here must rather be cosmic than refer to the activity of seers or other human powers.."[26] The meaning of the word here is certainly difficult to pin-point, and it seems that the most prudent course would be to assume that *tapas* involves some form of activity by means of which this undefinable chaos resolves itself into the known universe. Now, whether this creation is to be understood in an objective or a subjective (i.e., psychological) sense becomes again hard to determine. We noted above that the word "*tadānim*" is most likely meant to be read as stative rather than temporal. Following this line of reasoning, Raja says that the word "*ajā-*

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[21] Raja (1973), p. 225
[22] Desai (1972), p. 10
[23] Desai (1972), p. 11
[24] Desai (1972), p. 10
[25] Bloomfield (1908), p. 237
[26] Keith (1925), p. 436

yata " does not imply a literal, temporal birth, but a " figurative ", atemporal or psychological one, brought about by means of *tapas*. " What the passage means is that it was never other than what is concealed from our knowing. "[27] Abinash Chandra Bose sheds a little more light on the situation when he translates *tapas* as " spiritual power ", observing that " the manifestation of the divine in creation is a spiritual act.. "[28] In this way, " *tapas* " could refer to the poser through which the universe is created, or, if you will, " recognised " through the various cognative processes. Verse four could also support this contention, as we shall see presently.

2.3.3. All this talk of psychological, atemporal connotations may begin to appear a bit to abstruse and far-ranged. It is certain that Whitney had similar discussions in mind when he labled them " ...well-nigh nauseating. "[29] Never-the-less, it is a fact that Whitney was unable to discover much significance in these verses beyond the most superficial meanings of the words, and could himself just as easily be charged with pedantry. Whatever the case, it is a risky procedure to deny out of hand the possibility that any interpretation which is grammatically and contextually accurate stands on an equal footing with all other interpretations which meet these two qualifications. In lieu of some new evidence, the decision as to which commentary is absolutely " correct " will remain more or less arbitrary.

2.4.

४ का॒म॒स्तदग्रे॒ सम॑वर्त॒ताधि॒ मन॑सो॒ रेतः॑ प्रथ॒मं यदासी॑त् ।
स॒तो बन्धु॒मस॑ति॒ निर॑विन्दन् हृ॒दि प्र॒तीष्या॑ क॒वयो॑ मनी॒षा ॥

Ṛgveda X.129.4

2.4.1. If non-being has already been explicitly denied in the first verse of the *sūkta*, then what is meant by " *asat* " here in the third line? Bloomfield arrives at one possible conclusion :

> The poet here unquestionably entangles himself in sham profundity, he had better left out all reference to ' non-being '.[30]

It is true that we must account for the fact that somehow between the first stanza and this particular line, the polarity of non-being and being has been produced and/or recognised by the sages—otherwise Bloomfield's objection must stand. Among the other commentators, most of those who do not agree with Bloomfield's remark pursue a line of reasoning similar to the following : it is true that the first verse describes a non-dual primordial chaos, but it is important to realise that lines one and two of verse four give an account of the creation of a universe of dualities—a universe which can be intellectually perceived through these dual categories. Moreover, the secret link between non-being and being, which is here discovered by the sages, leads back by a psychological or " spiritual " route, to the original non-dual state. " Here, the mind works on a plane higher than the logical. "[31] In effect, the first two lines are a continuation of the narrative of the cosmic evolutionary process, while the last two lines are a description of how the sages " ...on a careful search by means of the intellect find out in the impermanent material universe a ' kin ' of the Eternal Spirit. "[32]

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[27] Raja (1973), p. 226

[28] Bose (1966), p. 305

[29] Whitney (1911), p. cxi

[30] Bloomfield (1908), p. 238

P. D. Mehta gives us a further explanation :

> ..indeed the roots of the seen lie in the unseen; knowledge slumbers in the womb of ignorance ; and the substantial emerges out of the seemingly non-substantial....This is not to deny the dictum '*ex nihilo, nihil fit*', but rather to indicate the relationship between the complex organism and its seed, between the concrete result of a process and the original forces giving rise to the process.[33]

Perhaps this justifies the occurrence of " *asat* " in the stanza, as a reference to the created universe of dualities, accompanied by a comment on the sage's ability to return to the non-dual root. If so, then the first two lines must be read as an account of the creation of duality, which is somehow dependant on " *kāma* ".

2.4.2. Predictably, by now, Whitney views the reference to *kāma* as " grossly anthropomorphic ".[34] On the other hand, if we follow the above interpretation of the second half of the verse, the word " *kāma* " lends itself to a variety of associations. Later *Sāṅkhya* theory treats the link between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* metaphorically, as a reflection in a mirror mistakenly seen (on account of *avidyā*) as an actual connection. *Kāma* may be understood here in a similar fashion.

> What was the first seed of the mind, at the beginning, that assumed the well-meant dominating form of *kāma* (or a desire to create the universe). The wise seers after scrutinising this in their hearts have decided and fixed with their intelligence that ' *kāma* ' is a bond joining life (*Puruṣa*) to matter (*Prakṛti*)...it is inevitable for creation.[35]

In other words, *kāma* could be construed as " the desire to live, "[36] or as J. Prasad puts it, " the creative energy of the mind. "[37] Certain psychological overtones do appear detectable in the word, and it is perhaps these associations Whitney calls anthropomorphic. There is a distinction to be drawn, however, between anthropomorphism and what Prasad and others have identified here as an attempt to describe the origin of the universe in epistomological as well as physical terms. Admittedly, it may be a clumsy and even partially "unconcious" attempt on the part of the hymn's author, but we must not dismiss it entirely on these counts. At any rate, this interpretation raises another problem : Is *kāma* a product of mind (*manas*), or is mind a product of *kāma* ? The genitive relationship between the two words does not make this clear. Keith holds to the first view, and accordingly explains : "...the mind must be deemed to be an attribute of the One which develops in the shell, whence springs desire."[38] This conclusion is not stated *per sea* in the *sūkta*, but is implicit in the words of all those who read it theistically. Keith lends support to these interpretations, and also to the psychological ones, when he states :

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[31] Bose (1966), p. 305

[32] Sarasvati (1936), p. 338

[33] Mehta (1956), p. 73

[34] Whitney (1911), p. cxi

[35] Desai (1972), p. 15

[36] Bloomfield (1908), p. 237

[37] J. Prasad (1956), p. 29

> Later philosophy makes the knowledge of desires depend on the existence of mind, and this idea may be foreshadowed here, where mind is made a cosmic prius of desire.[39]

There are two immediate ramifications of this position : (1) the One ("*tad ekaṃ*") was conscious and "desired" in some way to create the universe; (2) the fact that the sages discovered this connection inside themselves points to the notion of *Puruṣa*. Both of these observations are conceivably supported by Keith's further remark that "...consciousness without an object is the nature in the *Vedānta* of the *Brahman* and even of *Puruṣa* in the *Sāṅkhya*."[40] So much for the fourth stanza.

2.5.

५ तिरश्चीनो विततो रश्मिरेषामधः स्विदासी३दुपरि स्विदासी३त् ।
रेतोधा आसन्महिमान आसन् स्वधा अवस्तात्प्रयतिः परस्तात् ॥

Ṛgveda X.129.5

2.5.1. This particular verse provokes the maximum disagreement among the commentators. Macdonell, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*[41], translates the entire *sūkta* with the exception of verse five, and neglects to even mention in his comments that he has omitted it ! Bloomfield says : " The hymn continues with a mystical fifth stanza which is obscure, and in any case unimportant. "[42] According to Whitney : " . . . the next verse is even more unintelligible; no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished."[43] Exactly why Whitney sees the verse as " unconnected with the rest of the hymn " is not altogether apparent, since it obviously deals with some phase of the cosmogonic process. It is, as we noted earlier, a metaphor—but a metaphor of what? Keith goes a little further than most other European scholars, but still calls it a " puzzle ". He writes :

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[38] Keith (1925), p. 436

[39] Keith (1925), p. 436. In this context, see also *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* II.6. : "He (the *ātman*) desired : 'Would that I were many ! Let me procreate myself ! ' He performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas*, he created this whole world, whatever there is here. " (English trans. from Radhakrishnan and Moore (1957))

[40] Keith (1925), p. 437

[41] Macdonell (1962), p. 116

> . . . it may be referred to the sages who drove a division through the universe and distinguished the upper and the lower, the world of nature above, the principle of nature below; but this version is wholly problematical.[44]

Deussen reads it along Kantian lines, making it " . . . an assertion that the sages were able to discriminate between the thing in itself and the phenomenal world."[45]

2.5.2. The confusion is focused on several specific words in the verse, one of which is " *raśmiḥ* ". Literally, it must be translated as " ray " or " line ", or perhaps " cord "; but how would this fit into the context of the verse, much less of the entire *sūkta*? For many of the commentators, " *raśmiḥ* " implies some sort of a division between the existent and the non-existent[46], intended to bring duality out of unity.[47] This fits nicely with several interpretations of verse four, and so would seem to make sense. Sāyaṇa calls it " the ray of the sun, metaphorically the five great elements "[48], which Raja agrees with, and adds that this ray is the product of the three *Guṇas*.[49] Sarasvati takes an altogether different stand, explaining " *raśmiḥ* " in the following way :

> The slanting ray of light of these (viz.: (1) *tad ekaṃ* [vs. 2]; (2) *svadhā* [vs. 2], or *apraketam salilam* [vs. 3); and *retodhāḥ* and *mahimānaḥ*) had spread wonderfully both above and below. There were unliberated souls waiting to be reborn to enjoy the residua of their past actions (*retodhāḥ*)[50], and liberated souls (*mahimānaḥ*) who had enjoyed

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[42] Bloomfield (1908), p. 238

[43] Whitney (1911), p. cxi

[44] Keith (1925), p. 436

[45] Deussen, as quoted in Keith (1925), p. 436

[46] Macdonell (1917), p. 210

[47] Griffith, as quoted in Telang and Chanbey (1965), p. 455

[48] Sāyaṇa, as quoted in Telang and Chanbey (1965), p. 455

[49] Raja (1973), p. 228

[50] This interpretation of " *retodhāḥ* " is apparently based on a correspondance wit " seed ", in the sense of " past actions "

> their state of bliss. This side worked the divine creative force (*svadhā*) and that side the influence of the past actions of individual souls (*prayatiḥ*). [51]

In this way, he sees "*raśmiḥ*" as a metaphor of Divine Will (*Kāma*), which is in accordance with his interpretation of stanza four. One other variant reading involves the translation of "*retodhā*" and "*mahimāna*" as "seed-bearers" and "female forces". Through the actions of male and female powers the empirical world is produced.[52] Edgerton and Bose both hold this view. Most of the others who have written on this verse either side with Whitney, and find it entirely unintelligible, or else espouse some variation of one or the other of the above interpretations. There are two major exceptions to this rule.

2.5.3. The first is M. R. Desai, who submits the following claim :

> (The fifth verse)....is the original nugget from which is fashioned the coronet of the *Gītā*. This contains the nuclei of all the chief aspects of *kāma* or desire, dealt with so fully in the Lord's song.[53]

He establishes a one to one correspondance between single words in the fifth verse and entire sections of the *Gītā*.[54] "*Raśmiḥ*" is the "universal ray of *kāma*", which is analogous to the world tree mentioned in XV.1. of the *Gītā*. Humans are below, divine beings above, and the quadrupeds are meant by "*tiraścīnaḥ*". "*Svadhā*" in the last line indicates the placing before (from the root "*Dhā*") of one's own self-interest (*sva*). "*Retodhā āsan*" implies that such attachment must be vanquished through sense-subdual. "*Mahimānaḥ āsan*" is supposed to tell us that *kāma* can also be a great force working towards salvation, as shown in VII.11. of the *Gītā*.[55] Finally, "*prayatiḥ*" represents the powers of the devotee, which eventually help him to transcend *Prakṛti* and find union with the Lord. Desai is inclined to see the entire hymn as an exposition of *kāma*, and has on this account a general tendency to favour highly metaphorical and psychological readings, which do seem to go over-board at times.

2.5.4. The second completely unique rendering comes from Jwala Prasad, in an article for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.[56] The stanza is taken as a metaphor for the sacrifice, in both its mundane (worldly) and its cosmogonic aspects. Initially, he enumerates the elements involved in any Vedic sacrifice : first is *Kāma*, or the desire to achieve some result (usually *prājā*); second, priests must be hired, who prepare the alter in terms designated by traditional measurements and gather the necessary materials; third, is the actual sacrificial performance, which in turn involves five items—(a) the alter and surrounding area, (b) the sacrificers, (c) the oblation, (d) the fathers and gods who accept the oblation, (e) the act of offering, including the movements of the priest and the *mantras*. In his analysis of the verse he accounts for each one of these various constituants.

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[51] Sarasvati (1936), pp. 342 & 343

[52] Edgerton (1965), p. 73.; and Bose (1966), p. 305

[53] Desai (1972), p. 17

[54] Desai (1972), pp. 17 & 18

[55] The particular verse reads (in part) : *dharmāviruddho bhūteṣu kāmo'smi....* "

[56] J. Prasad (1929), pp. 586-599

2.5.5. Indications that the verse pertains to the sacrifice are, according to Prasad, numerous. The seer of the *sūkta* is *Prājapati Parameṣṭhin*, himself the " Great Sacrificer ". *Kāma*, which is the topic of the previous stanza, prepares the way for this sacrifice. " *Eṣām* " in line one is taken to refer to the " *kavayaḥ* " of verse four, who function here as priests. The stretching of the cord (*raśmiḥ*) below and above refers to the preparation for the sacrifice.[57] " *Svadhā* " are the objects offered, which follows Sāyaṇa, who translates it as either " *annam* " or " the oblation ".[58] " *Prayatiḥ* " is the act of offering, which is effected with a " back and forth " movement of the hand. Prasad is the only one of the commentators who accounts so explicitly for the use of the word " *prayatiḥ* ", as a derivation from the root " *Yat* ". In total, the verse means that the priests measured the sacrificial ground with their cord, above and below; the fathers (*retodhā*) and gods (*mahimāna*) were in attendance; and that the oblation was placed below on the earth while the act of offering went on above.

2.5.6. The cosmogonic significance is also accounted for : the *kavi*s are here the *Ṛbhus*, an inference based in part on the fact that they have been referred to as such in IV.34.9, where they divide the universe into heaven and earth. The stretching of the cord " ....represents the warp and woof of the universe, and this, in its turn, signifies the divisions of time and space, in which all beings live, move, and have their being. "[59] " *Svadhā* " are the products of nature, in particular water and *Soma*; and " *prayatiḥ* " is the activity of the heavenly bodies in the sky above. The whole hymn from a cosmogonic standpoint means that the universe was partitioned into heaven and earth, the fathers and gods were present, and the world of nature was below while the forces of the heavenly bodies were above. All in all a unique, well documented, and persuasive demonstration.

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[57] There is a precident for this interpretation in *Ṛgveda* X.114.6., where the *kavayaḥ* prepare (" measure ") the sacrifice : " *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā* ".

[58] The argument is presented as follows : " In *Ṛgveda* IX.113.10. We have *svadhā ca yatra tṛptiśca*, where Sāyaṇa translates *svadhā* as *annam, svadhākāreṇa vā dattam annam.* So there is no difficulty in interpreting the word, in the present verse also, in the sense of oblation. " J. Prasad (1929), p. 593

[59] J Prasad (1929), p. 596

2.6.

६ को अद्धा वेद क इह प्र वोचत् कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः ।
अर्वाग्देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा को वेद यत आबभूव ॥

Ṛgveda X.129.6

2.6.1. The fact that this stanza does not inspire the eloquent, and often verbose reactions that we encountered while examining the previous few lines, is not at all an indication that the commentators are in essential agreement over its content. Actually, there is one very major point of contention connected with it, which can be summarised as follows : The word "*deva*" in line three either means literally "gods", or figuratively any number of other things, depending on how it is translated. If it means "gods", then it most probably indicates *all* the gods, which immediately nullifies the theist's position. If, on the other hand, it can be realistically translated in some other way, the atheistic view, although still a possibility, is not definitely upheld. The case for the atheistic perspective is obvious, as "*deva*" is read as "god" in several other places throughout the *Ṛgveda*. Perhaps the strongest case for the opposite (theistic) interpretation is presented by A. C. Bose, in his *Hymns from the Vedas*. Here he makes the point that the *sūkta* has distinguished the Godhead, or Divine Essence, from the *deva*, or the manifested divinity, by indicating the former with the neuter singular (i.e., "*tad ekaṃ*"). "The *devas*", he explains, "are manifestations of the Absolute on relative planes."[60] This is certainly a more convincing argument than the one followed by most of the other theistic interpretations, where "*deva*" has been translated as "enlightened persons"[61], or "wise ones"[62], with no further justification. Once this problem is solved, the matter of a consistent handling of the first two lines of the verse is relatively simple. The idea is : "What creature, mortal or divine, can actually know (by personal contact) of the origins of this universe ?" The answer is equally easy to come by: "Only God knows."

2.6.2. M. R. Desai presents an interesting variation from this general theme, though. He reads the verse as a total denial of God, but, instead of seeing it as an expression of doubt, like the others who read the hymn atheistically, he calls it "a declaration of the confidence of wisdom" on the part of the author : "Who else (i.e., besides the seer of this hymn) knows of the truth about creation ?"[63] A thoroughly Vedāntic rendering, in the spirit of *Śaṅkara*.

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[60] Bose (1966), p. 305

[61] A. Prasad (1933), p. 141

[62] Sarasvati (1936), p. 121

[63] Desai (1972), p. 20

2.7.

७ इ॒यं विसृ॑ष्टि॒र्यत॑ आब॒भूव॒ यदि॑ वा द॒धे यदि॑ वा॒ न ।
यो अ॒स्याध्य॑क्षः पर॒मे व्यो॑म॒न् सो अ॒ङ्ग वे॑द॒ यदि॑ वा॒ न वेद॑ ॥

Ṛgveda X.129.7

2.7.1. Bloomfield calls it " philosophical skepticism "[64], where as Raja is a little less cautious : " ... atheism : uncompromising realism and positivism."[65] In this conclusion he differs from all the other Indian commentators we have examined. Jwala Prasad represents the contrary opinion, as he finds absolutely no evidence of doubt in the poem. According to him, the final verse should be translated (in part) : " it is only He who bore it, and nobody else, and it is only He who knows it, and nobody else... "[66] This reading is put forth in the context of a discussion on the earliest history of Indian epistomology, and is expanded by the following remark :

> ....as the creation of the universe took place at a time when neither men nor gods had come into existence, it is only the creator who knows about it; and it is only from Him, that is to say, by means of divine testimony, that we can expect to have knowledge of it.[67]

This may well be true as far as the *sūkta* goes, but never-the-less, it is difficult to see how we can stretch " *so aṅga veda yadi vā na veda* " to read " He knows it, and nobody else ". Sarasvati is even less convincing in his translation:

> Oh friend ! he who knows Him attains happiness and final beatitude but he who does not know Him, does not reach that goal.[68]

Who knows but that Whitney is not correct after all, when he calls this sort of thing " well-nigh nausiating ".

III. Conclusion

3.1. The evidence is now all in from every side, so where do we stand? After such heated controversy, one can not help but feel that if the hymn was confusing to begin with, this lengthy debate has done little to help matters. We have traced several very erudite, and at times persuasive arguments. Metaphors have been unraveled in a variety of ways. This is especially true in the case of the fifth verse, which has provoked so much controversy among the commentators. Jwala Prasad's argument that the lines bear a direct relationship to the sacrificial ceremony is intriguing, but reluctantly we may have to draw the line with Desai's theory that they present the entire *Bhagavadgītā* in condensed form. Such an interpretation strays much too far from not only the face value of the text, but also from the historical and cultural context within which the hymn was written. It is doubtless possible that at least the *Sāṅkhya* system, and perhaps many more of the ideas we associate with later periods are foreshadowed here, but only in a very rudimentary fashion. Desai and several other scholars have often pushed beyond the bounds of credability in their zeal to unify so much of Indian philosophy in these few lines. This observation also calls to mind a phenomenon noted throughout our analysis: Here I am referring to the split between Indian and Western scholars on the point of whether the *sūkta* does or does not deny existence in any form what-so-ever. If Desai represents the Indian side of the spectrum, Whitney certainly gives us the opposing Western extreme. Both men have erred in a manner which is strangely consistent with the more cautious efforts of their fellow scholars, respectively Indian and Western :-Desai by ascribing to the single hymn far too much; and Whitney by being overly skeptical, to the point that the *sūkta* is robbed of practically all its meaning. The two views are consequently less convincing than the others we have examined, and are valuable to us primarily because they clearly illustrate the pattern of this split between Indian and Western commentators. The deeper reasons for such a dichotomy are not immediately apparent, and it is not the purpose of this paper to speculate as to what they might be. For now, it must remain sufficient to note that there is a general tendency among Western scholars to find the hymn atheistic or at least agnostic, while nearly all the Indian commentaries we saw read it theistically. Never-the-less, as far as we can determine through our own investigation, not-with-standing the rather valient effort of those who would convince us that the poem assumes the existence of God, the last two lines do not seem to allow for anything more "divine" than the Vedāntic concept of *Brahman*—which is actually beyond any sort of definition, even one so rarefied as "Supreme Being". The hymn is unique as a genuine example of early philosophy, as opposed to theology, but in the end it most likely must be read as an expression of doubt—as an unanswered question; and perhaps it is just this spirit of "unpious" investigation which is its most admirable feature. At any rate, it is the aspect of the hymn which most closely approximates the ideal of modern scholarship.

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[64] Bloomfield (1908), p. 238

[65] Raja (1973), p. 230

[66] J. Prasad (1956), p. 27

[67] J. Prasad (1956), p. 28

[68] Sarasvati (1936), p. 351

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AVYĀVAHĀRIKA DEBTS AND KAUṬILYA 3.1.1-11

By

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The beginning of *Kauṭilīyārthaśāstra* 3.1 can be summarized as follows:

3.1.1 *dharmasthās...vyāvahārikān arthān kuryuḥ.*

3.1.2 *pratiṣedhayeyur vyavahārān*

(a) *tirohitān* [see APPENDIX]
3.1.6 ..*tirohitāḥ sidhyeyuḥ;*

(b) *antaragārakṛtān*
3.1.7 ..*antaragārakṛtāḥ sidhyeyuḥ;*

(c) *naktakṛtān*
3.1.8 ..*rātrikṛtāḥ sidhyeyuḥ;*

(d) *araṇyakṛtān*
3.1.9 . *araṇyakṛtāḥ sidhyeyuḥ;*

(e) *upadhikṛtān*
3.1.10 ..*upadhikṛtāḥ sidhyeyuḥ;*

(f) *upahvarakṛtān*
3.1.11 . *upahvarakṛtāḥ sidhyeyuḥ.*

The main sections of this passage have been translated, by Shamasastry :

> " ..three members acquainted with the Sacred Law..shall carry on the administration of justice. They shall hold as void agreements entered into ..; "

by Meyer :

> " Drei Richter .. sollen die bürgerlichen
> Gerichtssachen .. entscheiden. .. abgeschlossene
> bürgerliche Handlungen sollen sie verbieten; "

and by Kangle :

> " Three judges .. shall try cases arising out of transactions. They should declare as invalid transactions concluded .. "

Kauṭilya 3.1.2 obviously provides a list of exceptions to 3.1.1. If 3.1.1 formulates the general rule for *vyāvahārikān arthān*, we may, then, conclude that 3.1.2 :

tirohita° .. *°upanvarakṛtān vyavahārān*, refers to *avyāvahārikān arthān.*

To be sure, the term *avyāvahārika* does not occur in classical Sanskrit legal literature ; but it has been used extensively in modern Hindu Law of debts. The basis of the entire theory of *avyāvahārika* debts is a stanza attributed either to Vyāsa or Uśanas (*Dharmakośa* p. 714b) :

> *daṇḍo* (*°aṃ*) *vā daṇḍaśeṣo'*(*°aṃ*) *vā*
> *śulkaṃ taccheṣa* (*°aṃ*) *eva vā*
> *na dātavyaṃ tu putreṇa*
> *yac ca na vyāvahārikam.*

Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra* 3, p. 447) rightly points out : " What is meant by ' debts that are not *vyāvahārika*' has presented the greatest difficulty to the medieval commentators and digests and also to modern courts. " Colebrooke (*A Digest of Hindu Law* 1, p. 211) was the first one to propose a translation for *avyāvahārika* debts : " any debt for a cause repugnant to good morals. " In *Durbar* v. *Khachar* (1908) 32 Bom 348 (also at 351), Knight, J. spoke of " unusual or not sanctioned by law, " of " debts attributable to his (father's) failings, follies or caprices, " and of debts " which as a decent and respectable man the father ought not to have incurred. " In *Chhakauri Mahton* v. *Ganga Prasad* (1912) 39 Cal. 862, at 868-869, Mookerji, J. used the expression : " not lawful, usual or customary. " In *Venugopala* v. *Ramanadhan* (1914) 37 Mad. 458, at 460, Sadasiva Iyer, J. proposed a debt which is ' not supportable as valid by legal arguments and on which no right could be established in a creditor's favour in a Court of Justice. " In *Bal Rajaram* v. *Maneklal* (1932) 56 Bom. 36, at 50-53, the court discussed the various possible meanings of *avyāvahārika*, and in *Govind Prasad* v. *Raghunath Prasad* (1939) 63 Bom. 533, a Full Bench deliberated on it. In *Hemraj* v. *Kem Chand* (1943) 70 I.A. 171, the Privy Council decided that Colebrooke's interpretation came closest to the real meaning of the word; the Supreme Court, in *Jakati* v. *Borkar* (1959) A.S.C. 282, at 286, confirmed this opinion: the term did not admit of a more precise definition than the one proposed in Colebrooke's *Digest*. Most recently, Heramba Chatterjee (*The Law of Debt in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1971, p. 106) reiterated that " the correct approach to the term *avyāvahārika* perhaps has been made by Colebrooke. "

Neither Colebrooke nor any of the judges or writers who came after him have made adequate use of the occurrence of *vyāvahārika* in *Arthaśāstra* 3.1.1. Yet, a combination of Vyāsa/Uśanas and Kauṭilya might well lead to a better understanding of both passages.

There is no doubt that, as stated in the *Dharmakośa* 1.1 (Index p. 60) *vyāvahārika* indicates that which " relates to *vyavahāra*." However, *vyavahāra* has at least two distinct usages :

1. in a non-technical sense: any activity, practice, commerce, or intercourse between individuals;

2. in a technical sense: litigation, legal procedure, administration of justice.

Assuredly, both meanings theoretically fit Kauṭilya 3.1.1 : "the judges should perform those things that relate to legal procedures," and "they shall deal with those things that relate to commerce among men." Yet, the wording of 3.1.2 :

..°*kṛtāṃś ca vyavahārān pratiṣedhayeyuḥ*,

makes it clear that *vyāvahārikān arthān* in 3.1.1 refers to the latter interpretation only. Shamasastry and Meyer failed to recognize this connection; Kangle is the only one who translates: "cases arising out of transactions."

At this stage I should like to draw attention to the following verbal terminology used by Kauṭilya :

3.1.1 (General rule :)

.. *vyāvahārikān arthān KURYUḤ*

3.1.2 (Exceptions :)

.. °*kṛtāṃś ca vyavahārān PRATIṢEDHAYEYUḤ*

3.1.6-11 (Counter-exceptions:)

.. *tirohitāḥ* (etc.) *SIDHYEYUḤ*

That means that, in certain well-defined circumstances, even though it suffers from the default of being *tirohita* etc., human commerce *sidhyati* "is successful, succeeds, holds good, is admissible, is valid;" or, in legal terminology, "is legally binding."

Sūtra 3.1.2 uses the same verbal root *sidh*, with the preverb *prati*. This points to the fact that the author intends to express more than "to prevent, restrain, prohibit, interdict" (Monier-Williams), or "verbieten" in Meyer's translation. It seems that, in those cases of human commerce, the judges shall "make them unsuccessful; prevent them from succeeding, holding good, being admissible, being valid." The commerce has taken place and can no longer be "prevented, forbidden;" but it can be "made not legally binding," it can be "declared null and void."

Hence, if we formulate Kauṭilya 3.1.2 as :

avyāvahārikān arthān pratiṣedhayeyuḥ,

the text states that the judges shall declare "not legally binding, null and void" those cases brought before them which relate to *avyavahāra* "commerce, activities which are defective," i.e., *vyavahāras* not done at the right time, in the right place, in the right form, etc.

Turning to Kauṭilya 3.1.1, I propose to translate : "The judges shall examine those cases which relate to *vyavahāras* performed at the right time, in the right place, in the right form, etc.;" in short, they shall examine in court those—and only those—activities or individuals which are valid and legally binding.

I shall go one step further, and remind the reader of the fourfold subdivision of Hindu legal procedure :

bhāṣā " plaint, "
uttara " reply, "
kriyā " examination, "
nirṇaya " decision. "

In the light of this subdivision, the expression in Kauṭilya 3.1.1 :

dharmasthās .. *kuryuḥ*,

means that in the case of valid transactions, and in these cases only, the judges should do more than hear the plaint and the defence; in these cases they shall proceed to an actual *kriyā* and, hence, to a *nirṇaya* based on it.

Finally, let us return to the stanza by Vyāsa or Uśanas, on debts. The statement that the son shall not be held liable for anything which is *na vyāvahārikam*, means that he is not responsible for anything done by his father that was not *vyavahāra*, i.e., a valid, legally binding transaction. Most commentators have restricted themselves to giving examples of *avyāvahārika*. Modern Hindu law—starting with Colebrooke—has looked at these examples only, and tried to find a common denominator for them. Hence their varied and involved interpretations of a concept which was, basically, very simple.

APPENDIX

Since Kauṭilya 3.1.6-11 speak of *tirohitāḥ*, *antaragārakṛtāḥ*, *rātrikṛtāḥ*, *araṇyakṛtāḥ*, *upadhikṛtāḥ*, and *upahvarakṛtāḥ*, it is clear that in the compound in 3.1.2 :

tirohitāntaragāranaktāraṇyopadhyupahvarakṛtān,

°*kṛtān* is supposed to go, in the long *dvandva*, only with *antaragāra*, etc.

This has not been recognized by Shamasastry :

> " .. entered into in seclusion, inside the houses, in the dead of night, in forests, in secret, or with fraud, "

nor by Meyer :

> " Ohne Beisein des Betreffenden, innerhalb des Hauses, bei Nacht, im Wald, mit Betrug oder im Geheimen abgeschlossene .. "

Although Kangle adds a note : " *kṛtān* is to be construed with *antaragāra* onwards, " he too translates in the traditional way :

> " .. concluded in absence, inside the house, at night-time, in a forest, by fraud or in secret. "

To safeguard the integrity of the text, I propose the following emendation :

तिरोहिता<न>न्तरगार° for तिरोहितान्तरगार°,

which is not only paleographically justifiable, but also explains the presence of न in °कृतान्.

DISCUSSION ON THE MEGHADŪTA (VERSE 14)

By

H. T. Desai, Poona

Scholars studying *Meghadūta* have generally concentrated on problems like the route of the cloud, the identification of the *Rāmagiri*, the sequence of the stanzas and the like. It, therefore, needs no apology to pen an article on the interpretation of one of the stanzas therein.

On a critical study of the stanzas at the time of reading it with college-students, I found that the *traditional interpretation* of the St. 14 *Adreḥ śṛṅgaṁ harati pavanaḥ* and especially that of its last line *Diṅnāgānāṁ pathi pariharan sthūlahastāvalepān* is *laboured, farfetched*, consequently *unsatisfactory* and therefore *not acceptable*.

I am, of course, well aware of the criticism that is likely to be levelled against me. But I may venture to state that I have consulted all available material in Sanskrit, English, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi before writing this article.

The main *difficulty* lies in the *interpretation* of the word *pariharan* and *avalepān* in the fourth line referred to above.

Avalepa generally and primarily means 'pride'[1], and *hṛ* with *pari* means 'to remove or to destroy'. The line should therefore mean : O cloud, soar up into the sky removing on your way the pride, the *Diṅnāga*s feel on account of their (possessing) extremely corpulent trunks.

But on an analysis of the commentaries, translations and glosses, I noticed that they all agree to differ from interpreting the line in the above manner. The word *avalepa* has been interpreted in three ways : (i) Cāritryavardhana, Kanakkīrtigaṇi Prof. K. B. Pathak, Prof. R. D. Karmarker, V. K. Paranjpe, and Hajariprasad Dwivedī fall in a line in taking *avalepa* to mean '*saṁparka*', i.e. '*contact with*'.

(ii) Quite a large number of ancient scholars like Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Janārdana Vyāsa, Mallinātha, Bharata Mallik, and modern scholars like Narayana shastri Khisti, M. R. Kale, A. W. Ryder, C. D. Deshmukh, Prof. C. L. Shastri, Prof. C. M. Mehta, Pri. R. P. Sabnis, Vasudevasharan Agrawal, Paṇḍita Sitarama Chaturvedi, Rājavaidya G. K. Shastri from Saurashtra interprete *avalepa* as *avatāḍana*, i.e., 'strokes' or 'blows'.

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[1] अमरकोश—'दर्पोऽवलेपोऽवष्टम्भश्चित्तोद्रेकः स्मयो मदः'

(iii) Whereas Vallabhadeva, Sthiradeva, and Pūrṇasarasvatī understand *avalepa* as '*grahaṇa*' i.e. *catching*.

And the word *pariharan* is unanimously interpreted as *varjayan*, *tyajan*, *tyāgīne*, *choḍīne*, *bacāte hue*, *cukavīta*, all meaning 'escaping' or 'avoiding'.

Now I must state why I cannot persuade myself to accept the traditional interpretation though it has an unbroken tradition of ten centuries.

First, is there any point in asking the cloud to avoid the strokes of, or association with, the trunks of the *Diṅnāgas* ? The cloud is, in fact, to go to *Alakā* which is in the north of the *Rāmagiri* from where its journey was to begin. How, then, can the *Diṅnāgas* of quarters other than the north come in his way? If each one of them is to guard his one particular quarter only, it goes without saying that none of them can leave the quarter assigned to him. The plural *Diṅnāgānām* is therefore, unacceptable.

Secondly, the *Diṅnāgas* are supposed to be at the end of their respective quarter (*digante śrūyante*). If this is so, is it not too much to suppose that the trunk of the *Diṅnāga* of the northern quarter, even, not to talk of other *Diṅnāgas* can strike at objects far far away from where he is posted?

Thirdly, even if it be granted that being mythological or unearthly the *Diṅnāgas* possess some supernatural powers and can strike at objects at any long distance, the fact still remains that each one of them has to guard his particular direction only, and it is none of his business to interfere with the duty of other *Diṅnāgas*.

Fourthly, as the *Diṅnāgas* are guardians, what they have to guard against is aggression. But if it be accepted that they are endowed with supernatural powers, can they not easily understand that there is not the least fear of aggression from a cloud that is nothing but mere *dhūmajyotiḥsalilamarutāṁ sannipātaḥ*?

Again, *pratigajabrānti* as imagined by some of the commentators (Vallabhadeva, Sthiradeva, Cāritryavardhana, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Janārdana Vyāsa, Pūrṇasarasvatī, Kanakakīrtigaṇi and Hajariprasada Dvivedi) is also not tenable; for, it is well known that elephants never fly and therefore an air-raid by them is absolutely impossible. The cloud, per contra, is to fly through the air and cannot be mistaken for a *gaja*.

Fifthly, even if one argues (cf. Pūrṇasarasvatī's *Vidyullatā*) that the cloud may easily be mistaken for a *giritaṭa* by the *Diṅnāgas* who may consequently resort to *vaprakrīḍā* against it, the question of the *parihāra* of their *sthūlahastāvalepa* is still out of place, for, it is well known that when an elephant is engaged in *vaprakrīḍā*, he uses his tusks and not the trunk;[2] and what the cloud is advised to avoid is the strokes of the trunks and not the attacks of the tusks.

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[2] तिर्यग्दन्तप्रहारस्तु गजः परिणतो मतः ।

Sixthly, a poet of Kālidāsa's fame never uses words in their uncommon senses; and when they are so used it is only for the device of 'pun'. What is the special purpose served here by using *avalepa* in the uncommon sense of 'attack'? It is clear that no *śleṣa* on the word *avalepa* is intended here. In that case alone would it be justifiable to interprete *avalepa* as 'attack' (instead of 'pride').

Again, if 'attack' was the only sense to be conveyed, Kālidāsa could have easily used '*sthūlahastaprahārān*' which equally suits the metre.

Moreover, the less common sense of *avalepa* viz. 'attack' could be resorted to only if the *mukhyārtha* of the word were not to suit the context.

Finally, if Kālidāsa intended to convey the sense of 'attack', he could easily have composed a couple of stanzas more, describing the attack of the *Diṅnāga*s rather than resorting to this indirect way.

Let us, therefore, see now how the line can be easily interpreted by taking *avalepa* to mean 'pride'.[3]

The trunk of an elephant is *sthūla* or massive and that of the *Diṅnāga*s must be still more so—almost like a very big pillar. The showers of rain, per contra, are generally very thin or slender. But, at times, when it pours profusely, we do say, 'it rains cats & dogs!' In both Marathi and Gujarati the same idea is expressed by the phrase '*musaḷadhāra*' which means 'macelike showers'. In Sanskrit, the idea of 'raining cats and dogs' is expressed by the well known expression *śuṇḍādhārā*.

The Yakṣa suggests the cloud to shower in torrents so big as to surpass the *sthaulya* of the trunks of even the *Diṅnāga*s—a fact which would deprive them of their pride of possessing trunks of unsurpassed corpulence.

This interpretation is not without justification for in stz. 17, there is a mention of such torrential rain over the mount *Āmrakūṭa*.[4]

It is gratifying to note that the '*Gīrvāṇalaghukośa*' by J. V. Oak and 'The Practical Skt. Eng. Dictionary' of Pri. V. S. Apte independently support this interpretation by citing this very stanza as an illustration of √ *parihṛ* in the sense 'removing.' Similarly, both these lexicons as well as the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha cite this very stanza to illustrate the use of *avalepa* in the sense of 'pride'.

Shree Krishnashastri Lele, the late famous scholar of Mahārāṣṭra, in his free metrical Marāṭhī rendering has also used *garva* for *avalepa*.[5]

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[3] अवलेपस्तु गर्वे स्यात् इति विश्वः ।

[4] त्वामासारप्रशमितवनोपप्लवम् ।

[5] पाडुनि विशाळ तव देहातें, प्रचंडही वेगातें । निश्चित मनिं दिङ्नाग लाजुनी **सांडतीळ गर्वातें** ॥

The late shree M. D. Altekar's literal translation of the line, [6] too, lends support to my interpretation.

It is gratifying to note that a modern commentator, Paṇḍita Gaurinatha-sharma Pathak, Sāhityapradhānādhyāpaka of the Vishuddhananda Mahavidyalaya, Kashi, endorses my interpretation in his *Subodhinī*, he explains :

" अस्मात् सरसवेतसतरुवतः रामगिरिस्थानात् उड्डीय, उत्तराभिमुखो भूत्वा, दिग्गजशुण्डादण्डानां अभिमानं धारासंपातेन दूरीकुर्वन् नभोगमनं कुरु ! "

This interpretation, though it sets aside the traditional one, should be easily acceptable because it suits the context, it is not at all strained and in no way does it mar the poetic charm of the *Meghadūta*, the lustrous jem of Sanskrit Literature.*

Commentator	*Interpretation of*		कारणम्
	परिहरन्	स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्	
1 स्थिरदेव (10th cent. A.D.)	वर्जयन्	पीवरकरप्रहान्	प्रतिगजभ्रान्ति
2 वल्लभदेव (10th cent. A.D.)	वर्जयन्	महाकरप्रहान्	प्रतिद्विरदभ्रान्ति
3 दक्षिणावर्तनाथ (13th cent. A.D.)	वर्जयन्	स्थूलहस्तावताडनानि	सजातीयभ्रमेण
4 चारित्र्यवर्धन (1172 A.D.)	त्यजन्	पीवरशुण्डादण्डसंपर्कान्	—
5 जनार्दन व्यास (12th to 14th cent. A.D.)	परित्यजन्	पीवरकरास्फालनैः	प्रतिगजभ्रान्त्या
6 मल्लिनाथ (latter half of the 14th cent. A.D.)	परिहरन्	स्थूल-कर-आक्षेपान्	—
7 कनककीर्तिगणि (15th cent. A.D.)	परिहरन्	पीनहस्तसंस्पर्शान्	गजाशङ्कया
8 पूर्णसरस्वती (end of 14th cent. A.D.)	परिहरन्	महतां शुण्डादण्डानां व्यपारान् (= समाकृष्टुं प्रसरणम्)	प्रतिगजधिया वा गिरितटबुद्ध्या
9 भरतमल्लिक (18th cent. A.D.)	वर्जयन्	स्थूलकरप्रहारान् Quotes रन्तिदेव : ' गर्वप्रहारयोरुक्तं अवलेपपदं बुधैः । ' & cites गजशास्त्र : " अवस्थां पञ्चमीं प्राप्ताः दृष्ट्वा कृष्णाम्बुदं गजाः । संतापशान्तये तप्ताः क्षिपन्ति स्थूलहस्तकान् ॥ "	—
10 नारायणशास्त्री खिस्ते (19th cent.)	परिहरन्	शुण्डास्फालनानि	मार्गागतानां
11 पं. गौरीनाथ शर्मा पाठक (काशी)	दूरीकुर्वन्	दिग्गजशुण्डादण्डाभिमानं	

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[6] 'कालिदासाची सृष्टि', पृ. २९९ " रस्त्यांत (नभोमार्गानें जातांना) दिङ्नागांना जो आपल्या प्रचंड सोंडेचा गर्व आहे त्याचें तूं हरण करणारा होशील "

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Modern Scholars	*Interpretation of*		कारण
	परिहरन्	स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्	
1 A. W. Ryder (California)	Elude (= To escape from)	spite (= ill will) Desire to injure	
2 M. R. Kale	avoiding	blows of huge trunks	∵ दिङ्नागs of vast proportions, hence warned.
3 The late V. G. Paranjape (Fergusson College) (based on स्थिरदेव)	escaping	insolence of fat trunks	
4 Prin. R. D. Karmarkar	avoiding	association with *or* attacks by huge trunks	
5 Poly-edit.: B. V. Vyas, J. L. Dave & S. G. Desai	avoiding	Tossings of hnge trunks	
6 V. K. Paranjape, (Fresh light on Kālidāsa's 'मेघदूत')	avoiding	contact with	

हिन्दी टीकाकार			
1 वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल 'मेघदूत—एक अध्ययन'	बचाते हुए	स्थूल शुण्डाओंके आघात	∵ मार्गमें अडे दिग्गज
2 पं. सीताराम चतुर्वेदी	ढकेलते हुए	सूँडोंकी फटकारोंको	—
3 हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी Head of Hindi Dept., Banaras Hindu Univ.	बचा जाना	मोटी सूंडसे उलझे तो छुटकारा नहि	दिङ्नाग तुमको गजराज समझेंगे

(विन्ध्याटवीके जंगलमें पर्वताकार हाथी देखकर तुम्हें **भ्रम** होगा कि यह वन दिग्गजोंसे अध्युषित है।)

गुजराती *Scholars*	परिहरन्	अवलेपान्	कारण
1 राजवैद्य J. K. Shastri (गोंडळ, सौराष्ट्र) (समश्लोकी of मेघदूत with कात्यायनी संस्कृतटीका & Guj. Trans.)	તેમનો માર્ગ છોડીને	વનગજો તુંને મારી નાખે	(रेवाना जंगलोमां दिग्गजो जेवा प्रचंड हाथी नहावा नर्मदामां आवे छे)
2 Prof. C. L. Shastri Zavier's College, *Ahmedabad*	ત્યાગીને	સૂંઢોના આક્રમણને	—

गुजराती *Scholar*	परिहरन्	अवलोंपान्	कारण
3 साहित्यविशारद, Prof. C. M. Mehta, Khalsa College, *Bombay*	દૂર રહેતા	સૂંઢના પ્રહારથી	—
महाराष्ट्रीय *Scholars*			
1 Late Prin. R. P. Sabnis	चुकवीत	जाडजूड सोंडांचे तडाखे	
2 Dr. C. D. Deshmukh (समश्लोकसयमकसमवृत्त मेघदूत)	चुकवुनी	हस्तावहेला	
3 Late कृष्णशास्त्री लेले	सांडतील	दिङ्नाग गर्वातें	
4 डॉ. माधव दामोदर आळतेकर	हरण करणारा	दिङ्नागांच्या सोंडेचा गर्व.	

अवलेप	1 संपर्क (contact with)	चारित्र्यवर्धन, कनककीर्तिगणि, R. D. Karmarkar, K. B. Pathak, V. K. Paranjape, हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी
	2 अवताडन (strokes)	दक्षिणावर्तनाथ, जनार्दन व्यास, मल्लिनाथ, भरतमल्लिक, खिस्ते, A. W. Ryder, M. R. Kale, R. D. Karmarkar, Poly-editors, अग्रवाल, पं. चर्तुर्वेदी, राजवैद्य शास्त्री, प्रो. शास्त्री, प्रो. महेता, Pri. Sabnis, Dr. C. D. Deshmukh.
	3 ग्रहण (catching)	स्थिरदेव, वल्लभदेव, पूर्णसरस्वती.
कारणs	1 प्रतिगजभ्रान्त्या	स्थिरदेव, वल्लभदेव, दक्षिणावर्तनाथ, जनार्दन व्यास, कनककीर्तिगणि, पूर्णसरस्वती, हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी.
	2 मार्गागतानां	नारायणशास्त्री खिस्ते
	3 गिरितटघुक्षा	पूर्णसरस्यती
	4 संतापशान्तये	भरतमल्लिक

THE INTEGRATION OF RENUNCIATION BY ORTHODOX HINDUISM

By

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Introduction

At the end of his seminal study—" World Renunciation in Indian Religions, " Louis Dumont states: " To sum up, Hinduism, the religion of caste and of renunciation has developed by integrating—in Brahmanism—and by tolerating —in the sects—the products of the renouncer's thought and mysticism. "[1] In this paper we intend to investigate that process of integration by examining three of its most decisive moments and to study the developments and changes it caused within Brahmanism.

I. The first moment consisted in the *admission of renunciation* as an acceptable life-style within the orthodox religious framework. World renunciation is defined as the abandonment of all activities (*karma*) connected with life-in-the-world.[2] These activities, in so far as they are enjoined on the one or the other of the social groups (e.g. caste) that constitute society, are considered *dharma* in Brahmanical thought.[3] Consequently, the renouncer finds himself outside dharma; in rejecting the world, he, in fact, rejects *dharma*. This appears as an intolerable condition, if one were thinking in terms of Brahmanical categories. It has been noted that " behaviour far out-weighs dogma in Hinduism."[4] What one thinks is unimportant; how one acts puts one within or without the pale of orthodoxy. *Dharma*, in other words, is the very root of orthodox Brahmanism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the first attempt at integrating renunciation was made precisely within the context of *dharma*. This was done by adding a new dimension to the operation of dharma, viz. that of the *āśramas* (states of life), thereby rehabilitating renunciation as an orthodox life-style.

II - III. Renunciation, however, was more than a mere life-style. It was stamped with a distinctive *Weltanschauung*—the birth-death cycle (*saṃsāra*), kept in motion by action, is considered a state of bondage and suffering—and had a single goal—the liberation (*mokṣa*) of the individual from that bondage through a life of non-action. This *Weltanschauung* and this ultimate goal soon became accepted by the world. They became part of the common religious heritage of Hinduism. However, many religious traditions originating from the thought of renouncers restricted the goal of liberation to those who abandoned the world. With that restriction, how could it become truly the religious goal of the man-in-the-world? The second and third moments of the integrating process were attempts to dissociate the goal of liberation from the lifestyle espoused by renouncers. In the *Bhagavadgītā* we find a *redefinition of renunciation*, making it possible to renounce without actually leaving the world. In the conversation between King Janaka and the female ascetic Sulabhā, recorded in the *Mokṣadharma* of the *Mahābhārata*, there is a *dismissal of renunciation* in which Janaka finds both renunciation and kingship to consist in external emblems unrelated to liberation.

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[1] *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, IV (1960), p. 61.

[2] Cf. Patrick Olivelle, " A Definition of World Renunciation. " *Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens*, XIX(1975), pp. 75-83.

[3] Cf. Jaimini, *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sutra*, 1.1.2.; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (2nd ed.; Poona: 1968), Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 3-5.

[4] Cf. W. Norman Brown, " The Content of Cultural Continuity in India, " *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XX (1961), pp. 431-32.

I - The Admission of Renunciation

According to the classical theory of *āśramas* presented by Manu[5] and by the overwhelming majority of Brahmanical texts, the *āśramas* are *stages of life* in which a man belonging to the three upper classes (*varṇa*) should live successively. He should spend the first part of his life as a student (*brahmacārin*), the second as a householder (*gṛhastha*), the third as a forest hermit (*vānaprastha*), and the fourth as a renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*). Scholars have long noticed the artificiality of this theory.[6] However, little research has been done into its origin and development.

'*Āśrama*' is a relatively new word in the Sanskrit vocabulary. It is not found in the early Vedic literature and the early Buddhist sources use it with a very different meaning.[7] It is used probably for the first time with the present meaning in the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* (3.1).[8] The theory of *āśramas* found in it and in the three other early *Dharmasūtras*, viz. of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasiṣṭha, is very different from that of Manu. We shall call it the pre-classical theory. It is the earliest form of the *āśrama* theory that has come down to us. We have already dealt with it in a previous study[9] and restate its conclusions here.

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[5] Cf. *Manu-smṛti*, 4.1; 6.33.

[6] Cf. M. Winternitz, "Zur Lehre von den Āśramas" in *Beitrage zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens*, Festgabe Jacobi zum 75 Geburtstag Bonn, 1926. Louis Dumont, op.cit., p. 45.

[7] The Pāli form *assama* is regularly used in the *Piṭakas* with the meaning "hermitage of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic (*jaṭila*)." Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Pali-English Dictionary* London: Pāli Text Society, (1921-25), *sub vernum*; F. L. Woodward & E. M. Hare, *Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance* (London: Luzac & Co., 1956), Vol. I, p. 295.

[8] The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (6.21) uses the compound *atyāśramin* (one who has gone beyond the *āśramas*). However, this Upaniṣad cannot be assigned to a date much prior to that of the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, which, according to P. V. Kane (op. cit., Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 36), was composed between 600 and 400 B.C. The word is used in the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* (4.3), but this passage is considered by the editor of the Upaniṣad, J.A.B. Van Beutene, as a later insertion : *The Maitrāyaṇiya Upaniṣad* ('S-Gravenhage : Mouton, 1962,), p. 104.

Gautama and Baudhāyana are opposed to the view that there are four *āśramas*. They recognize only the householder's life as legitimate and present the *āśrama* theory as the view of an opponent. Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha, on the other hand, present it as the accepted doctrine. The theory of *āśramas*, however, as presented by these four authors is basically the same.

(i) The *āśramas* are permanent states of life. It is not possible for a man to change his *āśrama* or to pass from one to another.

(ii) A person can *choose* to live in any one of the four *āśramas*.

(iii) This choice is to be made at a definite point in one's life, namely at the conclusion of the period of studentship (*brahmacarya*) which follows the initiatory investiture with the sacrificial thread (*upanayana*). At this juncture the four *āśramas* present themselves to the young adult as four alternative ways of religious living.

(iv) The first *āśrama*, viz. studentship (*brahmacarya*), is distinguished from the post-initiatory studentship that bears the same name. The former is a permanent state, viz. residence at the guru's till death, later known as *naiṣṭhikabrahmacarya*, whereas the later is only temporary. In the classical theory these two are confused and the post-initiatory studentship becomes the first *āśrama*.

This pre-classical theory of *āśramas* caused a radical change in the notion of *dharma*. Besides the *dharma* of social groups (*varṇadharma*), there came into being a new dharma, that of the four states of life (*āśramadharma*). The *āśramas*, in fact, are often referred to as 'the divisions of *dharma*'.[10] Later literature refers to the totality of *dharma* as *varṇāśramadharma*—the *dharma* of classes and *āśramas*. Before the advent of the *āśrama* theory the element of choice or option was totally absent from the concept of *dharma*. On the cosmic level *dharma* was the regular functioning of the universe. On the social plane *dharma* was the established structure and functioning of society. Nowhere did it leave room for choice or alternatives; it was fixed and immutable. As the guiding principle of human behaviour, *dharma* was translated in terms of duties and obligations; man must follow the established order—he cannot change it. By the same token ' better ' and ' worse ' were not categories applicable to *dharma*. The *dharma* proper to an individual (*svadharma*) in so far as he belonged to a given class (*varṇa*) was his best *dharma*, his only *dharma*.

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[9] Cf. Patrick Olivelle, "*The Notion of Āśrama in the Dharmasūtras,*" *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens*, XVIII (1974), pp. 27-35.

[10] *dharmasya caturdhā bhedam. Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*, 2.6.11.9. Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 2.23.1.

The theory of *āśramas* changed all this. First, it introduced the element of *choice* into the concept of *dharma*, Within this new scheme it was possible to choose one's *dharma*, since one could choose one's *āśrama*.

The introduction of choice gave rise to a momentous change in the concept of *dharma*. Choice necessarily implied a value judgement, a better and a worse. The one type of *āśrama*, thus, came to be considered better and the other worse. On this judgement was based the choice of an *āśrama*. The ' better ' and the ' worse ', however, are said of the means according to its suitability to attain the end. The end in the present case was liberation (*mokṣa*). The latter being the explicit goal of the renouncer, the *dharma* of renunciation was considered by its supporters as better suited for or even as the only means of liberation. Thus we find the duties of a renouncer referred to as *mokṣadharma* (*dharma* leading to liberation) and his *āśrama* called *mokṣāśrama*, *kaivalyāśrama*, *apavargāśrama*, etc.

Within the context of liberation we now find a twofold division of *dharma*. The *dharma* of renunciation was called *nivṛttidharma*, since it entailed abstention from action and stopped the cycle of birth and death. The *dharma* of the householder, on the other hand, was called *pravṛttidharma*, since it consisted of activity and furthered the life cycle.[11] *Dharma* with its two arms-*pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta*-was now able to embrace both life-in-the-world and renunciation, both the traditional goals of men-in-the-world and the new goal of renunciation. *Dharma*, thus, became meaningful with reference to *mokṣa*.

The first reaction to these innovations from the conservative Brahmanical circles was the total rejection of the *āśrama* theory, the position advocated by Gautama and Baudhāyana. This soon gave way to a grudging acceptance, e.g. Āpastamba. All four of the early *Dharmasūtras*, however, are concerned with one implication of the theory—the presumed superiority of the renouncer's *āśrama*. Āpastamba affirms that, since all the *āśramas* lead to the same goal,[12] there is no reason to place any one above the others.[13] Most authors of *Dharmaśāstras*, however, place the householder above the rest, calling him the source and the support of the others.[14] This position is understandable in the light of the opposite view of the renouncers.

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[11] Cf. *Manu-smṛti*, 12.88-89.

[12] *Āpastamba-dhrama-sūtra*, 2.9.21.2.

[13] *Ibid.*, 2.9.24.14.

[14] Cf. *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, 3.3; *Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra*, 8.14-16; *Manu-smṛti*, 6.87-90.

A greater threat to the orthodox framework, however, was posed by the admission of choice into the concept of *dharma*. It was probably this challenge that prompted the revision of the pre-classical theory of *āśramas* to its classical form as presented by Manu. In the latter the element of choice is totally eliminated. The *āśramas* are now related to definite periods of a man's life. In this scheme one has as much freedom in choosing an *āśrama* as one has in growing old. The classical form of the theory seems to have been fashioned according to the sacramentary (*saṃskāra*) model. It was facilitated by the fusion of the first *āśrama*, viz. perpetual studentship, with the temporary studentship following initiation. Consequently, the entry into the first *āśrama* is made through the sacramentary rite of initiation (*upanayana*). Similarly, one becomes a householder through the sacrament of marriage. Like the sacraments, therefore, which are to be performed at various points of a man's life, the *āśramas* come to be associated with definite periods of life.

Theoretically speaking, once choice is eliminated and all *āśramas* become equally obligatory, it is pointless to speak of the superiority of one *āśrama* over another. Nevertheless, we find that Manu himself continues to praise the householder and to place his *āśrama* above the other three as their very source.[15] Evidently, the elimination of the choice factor from *āśrama* theory and, also from the *dharma* as such had been merely on the theoretical plane. It did not have the desired practical effect.[16] In fact we now come across a rival theory of *āśramas* that gives even more prominence to the choice factor than the pre-classical theory. It is found mainly in the literature of orthodox renouncers[17] but is accepted as authoritative by all medieval legal experts.[18]

In brief, this theory states that one may renounce while one is still a student, or a householder or a forest hermit. In other words, one should renounce the very day that one feels totally detached from the world.

Two important points of this theory should be noted. First, the choice factor is not only maintained here but also extended. In the pre-classical theory the choice was limited to a definite point in time; it had to be made immediately after the period of pupilage following one's initiation. Here, on the other hand, one can choose to renounce at any moment in one's life. Second, the entry into the other *āśramas* is not dealt with. It is partly due to the fact that this theory originated from the renouncers, who were more concerned with the entry into renunciation. Moreover, once the temporary studentship and the perpetual studentship had merged in the first *āśrama*, the entry into the latter and into the householder's *āśrama* required no special theory. The entry into both was performed by the respective sacramentary rites (*saṃskāra*). The third *āśrama*, on the other hand, became obsolete at a very early period.

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[15] *Ibid.*, 6.87-90.

[16] Thls may explain the artificially of the classical theory of *āśramas* noted above.

[17] Cf. *Jābāla Upaniṣad*, 4; *Āruṇeyi Upaniṣad*, 2.

[18] Cf. *Pārāśaramādhavīya*, ed. V.S. Islampurkar (Bombay Sanskrit Series, Nos. 47, 48, 59,64,67,74; Bombay: 1893-1919) Vol, I, pt. 2, p. 151; Vijñāneśvara on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, 3,56.

In a circuitous way, this brings us back to the beginning—namely, the opposition between life-in-the-world and renunciation, between *dharma* and its abandonment. The inclusion of the renouncer's way of life into the framework of *dharma* through the theory of *āśramas* and the division of *dharma* into *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta* had done nothing but pose the problem in different terms. Within the *āśrama* theory it was formulated in terms of the tension between the second and the fourth *āśramas*. In terms of *dharma*, it became the opposition between *pravṛttidharma* and *nivṛttidharma*. Moreover, the possibility of choosing between these two opposing life-styles had come to stay.

Mokṣa-liberation-came to be accepted by all religious traditions of India as the supreme goal of human endeavour, the ultimate concern of man. The division of *dharma* and the admission of choice was based on this goal. Within this framework life-in-the-world, the householder's life, had to take the second place.

II The Redefinition of Renunciation

In the *Bhagavadgītā* we find a bold new attempt to make the man-in-the world once again the center of religion while maintaining *mokṣa* as the one goal of all men, both of renouncers and men-in-the-world. It does so by subjecting to question the accepted notion of what constitues bondage.

A constant thorn in the side of orthodox thinkers was the apparently contradictory statements of the scriptures: perform actions; abandon all actions. The stock reply is that one should pass through the *āśramas*.[19] In other words, the *dharma* of action (*pravṛttidharma*) is proper to certain *āśramas* and that of non-action (*nivṛttidharma*) to others.

The *Bhagavadgītā* begins with the same dilemma: to act or not to act? Arjuna sees the great epic battle about to commence and contemplates all the resultant evils. After a long debate with himself, he resolves: "I shall not fight." [20] Arjuna, in other words, exercises the freedom of choice in a matter of *dharma*. This is the setting in which the *Gītā*'s doctrinal exposition takes place.

In resolving this dilemma, the author of the *Gītā* indicates that he is wedded to the traditional notion of *dharma*: it is fixed, immutable and binding; it admits no choice or alternative.[21] Neither does he acknowledge the division of *dharma* into *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta*. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that he never uses the word *āśrama*. It seems improbable that he was unaware of the *āśrama* theory. His silence seems to indicate a deliberate departure from the beaten track in an attempt to provide a more satisfactory answer to the problem.

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[19] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 12.169.5f; 12.233.1f.

[20] *Bhagavadgītā*, 2.9.

The *Gītā* begins with an analysis of action. "What is action? What is non-action? Even sages are bewildered here."[22] It had long been held that action (*karma*) was the cause of *saṃsāra* and of bondage. This was precisely the reason for its abandonment by those seeking liberation and for the tension between renunciation and life-in-the-world. The *Gītā* considers this too simple a view of action and bondage. If mere action were responsible for the continuation of *saṃsāra*, liberation would have been impossible, "for no one ever, even for a moment, remains without performing an action."[23] Buddhism had already recognized this and made desire—the motivating factor of action—rather than action *qua tale* the cause of *saṃsāra*. The *Gītā* follows this lead and distinguishes two types of action:

A. Unmotivated action, i.e. mere action without any regard to its result.

B. Motivated action, i.e. action prompted by the desire for its result.

Only the latter type is detrimental to the attainment of *mokṣa*. Traditional renouncers give up all actions, the motivated as well as the unmotivated. The *Gītā* concedes that such men can reach liberation. Nevertheless, it considers such renunciation an idle exercise, if not well nigh impossible.[24] Renunciation, on the contrary, should be directed not at the first class of actions but at the second. With this the *Gītā* redefines renunciation. *True renunciation*, says the *Gītā*, consists in abandoning the desire for the results (*phala*) of one's actions, while continuing to engage in activity.[25] "Let him who hates not nor desires be known as the permanent renouncer (*nityasaṃnyāsi*)."[26] Truly wise is the man "who in action sees non-action, and in non-action action."[27] Action without desire is true non-action, for it does not lead to bondage, while non-action tainted with longing is equivalent to action that binds.

The *Gītā*'s position, therefore, is that one can truly renounce in spirit (*manasā*)[28] while engaging in normal activities and continuing to live in the world. The knot of *saṃsāra* can be cut by the renouncer as well as by the man-in-the-world. The gates of *mokṣa* are open to all, to the renouncer and to the man-in-the-world.

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[21] Cf. *Ibid*, 2.31-35; 3.8,33, 35; 18.40-48, 59-60.

[22] *Ibid.*, 4.16.

[23] *Ibid*, 3,5; Cf. *Ibid.*, 18.11.

[24] Cf. *Ibid.*, 3.4-5.

[25] Cf. *Ibid.*, 18.11.

[26] *Ibid.*, 5.3.

[27] *Ibid.*, 4.18.

[28] Cf. *Ibid.*, 5.13.

In this process, however, the *Gītā* totally devalues *dharma* at least with reference to the ultimate goal, *mokṣa*. We saw that within the framework of the twofold *dharma*-the *pravṛtta* and the *nivṛtta-dharma* as such remains meaningful with reference to that ultimate goal. According to the *Gītā*, on the other hand, which recognizes neither the above division of *dharma* nor the possibility of choosing between the two, *dharma* is totally unrelated to *mokṣa*. *Dharma* is valid and operative only in the realm of *saṃsāra*. Employing Sāṃkhya terminology, the *Gītā* explains that *dharma* and action are the work of the strands (*guṇa*) of primordial nature (*prakṛti*).[29] As such they are unrelated to the self (*puruṣa*) and his liberation. Thus, the *Gītā*, in dissociating *mokṣa* from the life-style of renunciation, dissociated it from all life-styles, including that of life-in-the-world. The goal of life is separated from the mode of life.

If this be true, why should a person striving for liberation bother to observe his *dharma* or to act at all? Such a person, the *Gītā* tells us, should continue to perform only the obligatory acts (*nityakarma*) and not the optional ones (*kāmyakarma*), for the latter are necessarily connected with desire.[30] The obligatory acts should be performed solely because they constitute one's *dharma*.[31] It is a type of categorical imperative. In a matter of *dharma* it is not possible to ask 'why'. This was true also of the traditional concept of *dharma*. However, the latter recognized various benefits and rewards attached to the prescriptions of *dharma*. These benefits acted as one of the chief motives for following one's *dharma*. In the *Gītā*, however, motives are absent; the imperative alone remains; or, better, the imperative itself becomes the motive.[32] Moreover, at times the *Gītā* seems to indicate that this imperative is not merely on the moral plane but also on the physical. One cannot but obey the laws of nature (*prakṛti*). That is the final admonition of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna : "If you turn to the thought of 'I' and think 'I will not fight', vain is this your resolve ; nature will constrain you."[33]

The importance of the *Gītā*'s redefinition of renunciation, however, lies in the fact that it removed the obstacle to liberation, namely action, posed by life in-the-world. With the elimination of desire, action ceases to be a hindrance. One can, thus, aspire to liberation while remaining in the world.

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[29] Cf. *Ibid*, 3.27f; 4.13; 18.41.

[30] Cf. *Ibid.*, 18 2f; 6.1.

[31] Cf. *Ibid* 3.35 (18.47); 18 48.

[32] True, in the early part of his teaching (*Gītā*, 2.31-37); Kṛṣṇa appeals to the huma instincts of Arjuna by showing him the rewards of *dharma* : "Slain, thou shalt heaven; victorious, thou salt enjoy the earth. Therefore arise with no uncertai spirit for the fight." However, in the more advanced teaching where desire is elim-nated such rewards cannot be made the motive of actions.

[33] *Ibid.*, 18.59. Cf. also *Ibid.*, 18.60-61.

III-The Dismissal of Renunciation

The third moment in the process of integrating renunciation is the dismissal of the renouncer's life-style as irrelevant to the acquision of *mokṣa*.

Traditionally King Janaka is the symbol of the sage-king. As king, he epitomizes the life-in-the-world and, as one who has already attained *mokṣa*, he is a witness to the possibility of gaining liberation without reonuncing the world.[34]

The *Mokṣadharma* of the *Mahābhārata* (12.308) records a dialogue between him and a female renouncer named Sulabhā. The *Gītā*, as we have seen, demonstrates the possibility of liberation for men-in-the-world by examining the true cause of bondage. On the other hand, Janaka in this passage shows that liberation can finally be dissociated from renunciation and made the goal of men-in-the-world only by examining the *true cause of liberation*.

In brief, Janaka's argument is as follows. According to the Sāṃkhya doctrine, which Janaka follows, knowledge alone is the cause of liberation. One's mode of life is not intrinsically connected with liberation. According to Janaka, the liberating knowledge can be acquired by anyone irrespective of the mode of life. Since both a renouncer and a king are liberated only through knowledge, their difference lies merely in external emblems. The renouncer is recognized by his begging bowl and the triple staff and the king by the sceptre and the royal umbrella. The life-style of the renouncer, i.e. the state of non-possession (*ākiṃcanya*), does not lead automatically to liberation, just as the life-style of the king, i.e. the state of possession (*kaiṃcanya*), does not by itself entail bondage. Janaka concludes : " Wearing orange clothes, shaving the head, carrying the triple staff and the water pot—I consider these as outward signs, useless for liberation. Since, even when these emblems are present, knowledge alone is the cause of liberation, mere emblems are useless here to liberate oneself from suffering. "[35]

In the account of this dialogue as recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, Sulabhā wins the argument by pointing out that Janaka is still attached to duality and far from liberation. This fact, according to her, indicates that liberation is possible only through renunciation. Nevertheless, the arguments put forward by Janaka represent the tradition supporting life-in-the-world while integrating the ideal of *mokṣa*. In fact, this dialogue is introduced in response to Yudhiṣṭhira's question ? " Further, although Sulabhā, resorting to an *ad hominem* argument, points out that Janaka has not attained liberation, she does not address herself to the broader issue raised by Janaka, namely, that knowledge, not outward emblems and life-style, is the sole cause of liberation.

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[34] Cf. *Gītā* 3.20; *Mahābhārata*, 12.211; 12.308.

[35] *Ibid.* .12 308.47-48.

Janaka reappraises renunciation in the light of this true cause of *mokṣa* and finds that it is not necessarily connected with the latter. Renunciation is one life-style among many in any of which liberation is possible and none of which are directed related to its attainment. Janaka, thus, takes the *Gītā*'s separation of goal from life to its ultimate conclusion. The *Gītā* saw renunciation as a value and tried to redefine it so as to make life-in-the-world true renunciation. Janaka, on the other hand, dismisses renunciation as irrelevant and unimportant since it is as unrelated to *mokṣa* as life-in-the-world.

Conclusion

I consider these three moments in the integration of the life-style and values of renunciation into the orthodox religious framework to be veritable milestones in the intellectual history of Hinduism.

The first, namely the theory of *āśramas*, made renunciation a viable option within the orthodox religion. More important, it made possible the admission of variety and choice, and, consequently, of value judgement into the concept of *dharma*.

The second and the third moments, on the other hand, enabled Hinduism to remain basically the religion of society and at the same time to integrate the values and goals which were " the products of the renouncer's thought and mysticism. " Hinduism, thus, remains " the religion of caste and of renunciation ", the religion both of the renouncer and the man-in-the-world.

THE GUṆAMANDĀRAMAÑJARĪ : AN ĀKHYĀYIKĀ BY RAṄGANĀTHA*

By

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The Oriental Institute of the M. S. University of Baroda possesses a manuscript of the *Guṇamandāramañjarī* of *Raṅganāthu.* As stated at the close of this work in clear terms, it was composed in V. S. 1708, i.e., 1652 A.D. and the manuscript was copied out two years later in V.S. 1710, i.e., 1654 A.D. at the instance of the author himself. Being thus an autograph, the manuscript is quite important.

As the colophons state, it is an *Ākhyāyikā.* It is written in Ornate prose that we find in the works of *Subandhu, Daṇḍin* and *Bāṇa.* As such it has long compounds, very long sentences full of adjectives, and at the same time it has short sentences as well. It also has nice descriptions of persons, seasons, cities, forests, mountains, rivers, sun-rise, sun-set, moon-rise and so on. These descriptions are full of grandeur. There we frequently meet with epithets with *double entendre.* Different figures of speech, both of word as well as sense, are met with every now and then, the most note-worthy being *yamaka, upamā* and *utprekṣā.*

We also find general truths here and there, a few instances being as under :

(1) किमस्त्यकथनीयं नाम सहृदयानाम् ।

(2) न शयानं प्रबोधयेत् ।

(3) प्रभुनियोग एव प्रभवति विधेयविधानाय ।

(4) यादृशस्तादृशो भर्त्ता स्त्रीणां परमदैवतम् ।

(5) सङ्गवशतो हि सन्तोऽपि विपर्यस्तमतयो भवन्ति ।

(6) सत्समयोपसाधनीयाः खलु क्षोणीपतयः ।

(7) स्त्रीभिर्भर्तृवचः कार्यमेष धर्मः परः स्त्रियाः ।

The Ornate prose is occasionally interspersed with verses.

This *Ākhyāyikā* is divided into three *Ucchvāsa*s and the three colophons offer a few details about the author viz. that poet *Raṅganātha,* the author of the *Ākhyāyikā* called *Guṇamandāramañjarī,* was the son of *Bālakṛṣṇasūri,* who, on his part, was the son of another *Raṅganātha* who is stated as *Śrīmad-bindu-vṛnda-purandara śri-śrimbekara-raṅganātha-dīkṣita.* Likewise, the eighteenth of the Introductory verses also states that they belonged to the *Śrimbekara* family. And, as will be presently pointed out, the eleventh Introductory verse, again, gives some details about the learning of the author's father *Bālakṛṣṇa.*

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One *Raṅganātha*, son of *Bālakṛṣṇa*, has written commentaries on (1) the fourth Act of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, (2) Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, and (3) Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. It appears, at the present state of our knowledge, that the author of the work under discussion is the same as this commentator. In fact, the colophon of a manuscript of the commentary on the fourth Act of the *Vikramorvaśīya* preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal runs thus :

" इति श्रीमच्छ्रींबेकररङ्गनाथदीक्षितपुतश्रीबालकृष्णतनूजनिरङ्गनाथेन निर्म्मिता विक्रमोर्वशीय-चतुर्थाङ्कविवृतिः समाप्ता ॥ "

At the outset of this *Ākhyāyikā* we find twenty verses. The first nine Verses eulogise *Tryakṣaja* or *Gaṇeśa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vāmadeva* or *Śiva*, *Śāradā*, *Rāma*, *Gabhastimat* or the Sun and the author's preceptor *Rāmacandra*. The tenth verse, again, eulogises *Kṛṣṇa*, while the eleventh, as already pointed out, contains a eulogy of the author's learned father *Bālakṛṣṇa*. It runs thus :

" तर्के प्रोद्दामतर्क्के फणिपतिभणितौ केवलं शेषवेषे
मीमांसातत्त्वमीमांसनकलितमतौ सांख्यसंख्यावदग्र्ये ।
योगोऽत्यन्ताभियोगे रससरसहृदि ख्यातरीतौ सुनीतौ
विद्वद्वृन्दाभिवन्द्ये पितरि गुणगुरौ बालकृष्णे नतिर्मे ॥ "

Verses 12 to 17 are *subhāṣitas*; while the 18th verse, as already mentioned above, introduces the author who is stated there to be *Raṅganātha*, son of *Bālakṛṣṇa* of the *Śrimbekara* family :

" श्रिम्बेकरकुलमण्डनविबुधश्रीबालकृष्णस्य ।
पुत्रेणेयं सुकथा वितन्यते रङ्गनाथेन ॥ "

The last two verses are the usual ones giving an idea of the literary piece that is being presented.

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Then the story starts, which may be summarised as under :

There was a city called *Padmapura* near Mt. *Vindhya* surrounded by the river *Revā i e.* the *Narmadā*, ruled over by king *Rāghavasenavarman* who had two queens. Tactful *Vilāsavatī* poisoned his ears against elderly *Guṇamañjarī*, who, being pregnant, was concealed by Minister *Dharmadhvajagupta* in his house, though ordered to be killed. Her son *Vīrasenavarman* was nourished by the minister, who declared him to be his brother's son.

At the age of ten, the prince, after great persistence, came to know the fact from his mother.

On the very first day of his introduction to the king, he took an opportunity to show his valour when the *Vana-pāla* approached the king with a complaint that a dreadful *Jhoḍa* or evil spirit was sporting in and destroying the forest. *Vīrasenavarman* went there. It was a boar. He gave a bitter fight and killed it. Pleased at this, the king bestowed upon him the lordship of a thousand horsemen.

One night a woman's cries were heard. *Vīrasena* crossed the flooding river and found a man hanged on the gibbet. The woman crying by the side told him that the thief, her husband, though hanged, could not die because he wanted to kiss her but that she could not reach his face. When he took her on his shoulder, she began to chew the man's flesh! Thinking that she might be a *Rākṣasī* he cut off her leg. She flew away in the sky and he carried her anklet to the king, who sent it to Queen *Vilāsavatī.* Having followed him, guised in a *Nīla Kambala*, the king had witnessed all that happened and was highly pleased.

Here ends the *first ucchvāsa.*

The *second* one opens with *Vīrasena* again setting out in search of the other anklet. At *Śrīpurī* in the *Vindhya* forest he rescued *Amarasundarī,* princess of the local king *Vijayadhvaja*, along with her jewel-casket, by killing the kidnapper thief. She chose him as her husband. Going forward he crossed the *Gaṅgā* in a fisherman's boat, but she was kept steady in the middle current by the cunning fisher-men who started quarrelling for taking possession of the damsel and her casket.

He went further. At the foot of Mtn. *Himālaya* he met the sage *Devaśarman* who consoled him that he would attain the desired object shortly. In return journey he met with a *Yātudhāna* who also was pleased at his *Samasyāpūrti* and consoled him narrating the story of *Purūravas* and *Urvaśī.* He also was worshipping Lord *Śiva* to fulfill his desire of marrying *Mandāramañjarī*, the charming daughter of the *Gandharva* king *Citrāyudha.*

Anxious to see this beautiful girl, *Vīrasenavarman* went towards the North. In the table-land of Mtn. *Maṇikūṭa* he saw another *Yātudhāna* who too was practising penance for the same purpose and who, pleased by the prince's *Samasyāpūrti*, gave certain instructions as to how to secure the *Gandharva* princess.

Here ends the *second ucchvāsa.*

In the *third ucchvāsa*, following these instructions, *Vīrasenavarman* goes further to the lake *Sitoda* and takes away the clothes of the bathing damsels, which he returns after securing *Mandāramañjarī's* promise to fulfill his desire. She falls in love with him. Then they depart.

Now four pigeons were talking to their parents. One of them said that it had met *Mandāramañjarī* who was in the clutches of a *Yātudhāna*. Another had seen a one-legged *Gandharvī* wearing an excellent anklet. The third one had observed a beautiful damsel with jewel-casket in the midst of the *Gaṅgā*; while the fourth pigeon told of *Vīrasena's* mother worrying about him. The parent pigeons refused to eat the fruits brought by their young ones unless they were served to the man lying hungry beneath the tree. It was *Vīrasena*, who refused to take anything since only three days were at his disposal and nothing could he secure till then.

The pigeons went to his help. The first one showed him the way to the place of *Mandāramañjarī*. *Vīrasena* took hold of the *Siddhayaṣṭi*, the *Siddhapādukā* and the *Siddhabhājana* and rescued her and sent her to her father's place. The second pigeon took him to the *Nūpuradhāriṇī Niśācāriṇī* whose second leg was cut off by him and her anklet concealed in the skirts of his garment. Then he went to *Mandāramañjarī's* father who heartily welcomed him. Mounting the *Siddhapādukās* he went to the *Gaṅgā*, killed the quarrelling fishermen, rescued *Amarasundarī* and her jewel-casket, and took her to *Śrīpurī* where her father offered him both the princess and his kingdom. Mounting the horse *Manojava*, *Vīrasena* returned home along with his retinue and the pigeons. The king was highly pleased, especially when the minister revealed the fact that the adventurous young man was none else but his own son. His mother *Guṇamañjarī* was brought to the palace with due honour and he was crowned as the heir apparent. He gave protection to his step-mother *Vilāsavatī* against the wrath of his father and kept her in a separate building with due facilities. Then *Mandāramañjarī* and others were brought there and all lived quite happily.

And here the story closes.

* * *

As is evident from the story, the title *Guṇamandāramañjarī* is chosen for the work from the names of two characters *Guṇamañjarī* and *Mandāramañjarī*, the hero's mother and spouse respectively.

The work contains a very interesting story narrated in a majestic manner. If published it is worth prescribing as a text-book vying with the *Kādambarī*. Manuscripts of this work are recorded in some catalogues. *Mss*. of at least two commentaries on it are found mentioned in catalogues—one by *Vṛndāvana* and the other by *Dāmodara*. A ms. of the former is recorded in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North West Provinces, while a manuscript of the latter is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It will be worth-while to publish a critical edition of this *Ākhyāyikā* along with the two commentaries. And I am happy to announce to this learned assembly that the Oriental Institute, Baroda has undertaken the project.

AXIOMS : HOW FAR THEY HAVE WON LASTING VALUE FOR THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

By

B. N. BHATT, Baroda

There may be many reasons which account for the lasting character of literary works of diverse nature. Some of those reasons are as follows : (1) The heroic exploits of national heroes which are a source of inspiration to the people at large and are described in an appealing manner in any literary work. (2) Any great event of history with far-reaching consequences affecting a large mass of people which is described in a vivid manner in any literary work. (3) The diverse natures of the characters, their peculiarities, their aims and achievements, their struggles and successes as well as failures and their final ends which are depicted in a lively manner in any literary work. (4) Axioms or universal truths which are advanced in any literary work as generalizations to instruct the people indirectly but effectively. (5) Making others feel the richness of imaginations and the provoking of sentiments in the minds of the men of taste by the study of or recital of any literary work. There may be many more reasons which lend lasting character to literary works. All the points mentioned above are found contributing substantially in respect of lending a lasting character to the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. But here we shall restrict ourselves to the examination of some of the Axioms in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and their contribution in making the *Rāmāyaṇa* a lasting literary work.

These axioms or universal truths are based on the keen observation and experience of the author based in its turn on a careful analysis of similar experiences of others. They forcibly attract the minds of the people and get firmly implanted in them as a result they render invaluable service in spreading some moral idea or political wisdom or in making others follow a particular course of action. As such axioms are firmly based on human experience in general so they convince the people and consequently effectively mould their behaviour also. This is exactly what the author of any literary work of lasting value wants to achieve. In this manner he indirectly shapes the fortunes, moulds the characters and controls the behaviour of a number of people as long as the work continues to enjoy popularity. Many axioms contain the philosophy of life of the author.

Examining from this stand-point we shall notice that there are *some* *xioms in the Rāmāyaṇa that emphasize the omnipotence of destiny*. For example in I.58. 21-24, Triśaṅku[1] narrates the story of his sad plight to Viśvāmitra and explains to him how he was cursed by the sons of Vasiṣṭha whom he had merely requested to officiate as priests at his sacrifice which was supposed to lead him to heaven along with the same body. Formerly Vasiṣṭha had also rejected Triśaṅku's proposal. This statement of Triśaṅku made in I.58. 22^{cd}-23^{ab} echoes the view that destiny is omnipotent and that human effort is futile. Destiny attacks everything. Destiny is the last resort.

Another parallel example (emphasizing the omnipotence of destiny) is come across in II.22.16 in which Rāma[2] persuades Lakṣmaṇa that destiny alone is responsible for his own banishment. Rāma says:—" How can there be an undertaking of Kaikeyi in respect of my (i.e. Rāma's) pain if this her idea (Bāhva) is not laid down by the destiny (Kṛtānta) ?" Rāma[3] further continues to passify Lakṣmaṇa with the words: " How can that princess possessing such (good) qualities and endowed with (good) nature say about inflicting pain on me before her husband just like an ordinary woman ? That which is unthinkable is destiny and it is not destroyed in respect of creatures also. Verily in respect of me and in respect of her contrariety has openly fallen." Again Rāma continues :—" Pleasure and pain, fear and anger, gain and loss, existence and non-existence anything of that sort befalls in whomsoever's case indeed that is the act of destiny. Even sages who have practised austere penance after having given up rigid vows fall down by desire and anger impelled by destiny. That unthought of a thing which starts all of a sudden after having set aside that which was already begun by efforts is indeed the act of destiny."

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[1] Vide गुरवश्च महात्मानः शीलवृत्तेन तोषिताः ।
धर्मे प्रयतमानस्य यज्ञं चाहर्तुमिच्छतः ॥
परितोषं न गच्छन्ति गुरवो मुनिपुङ्गव ।
दैवमेव परं मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकम् ॥
वैषेनाक्रम्यते सर्वं दैवं हि परमा गतिः ।
तस्य मे परमार्तस्य प्रसादमभिकाङ्क्षतः ।
कर्तुमर्हसि भद्रं ते दैवोपहतकर्मणः ॥
नान्यां गतिं गमिष्यामि नान्यच्छरणमस्ति मे ।
दैवं पुरुषकारेण निवर्तयितुमर्हसि ॥ (१.५८. २१-२४)

All references in this article are to the Gītā Press ed. of Vālmīki Rāmāyan

[2] Vide कैकेय्याः प्रतिपत्तिर्हि कथं स्यान्मम वेदने ।
यदि तस्या न भावोऽयं कृतान्तविहितो भवेत् ॥ (२,२२. १६)

[3] Vide कथं प्रकृतिसम्पन्ना राजपुत्री तथागुणा ।
ब्रूयात् सा प्राकृतेव स्त्री मत्पीडयं भर्तृसंनिधौ ॥
यदचिन्त्यं तु तद् दैवं भूतेष्वपि न हन्यते ।
व्यक्तं मयि च तस्यां च पतितो हि विपर्ययः ॥
सुखदुःखे भयक्रोधौ लाभालाभौ भवाभवौ ।
यस्य किंचित् तथाभूतं ननु दैवस्य कर्म तत् ॥
ऋषयोऽप्युग्रतपसो दैवेनाभिप्रचोदिताः ।
उत्सृज्य नियमांस्तीव्रान् भ्रश्यन्ते काममन्युभिः ॥
असंकल्पितमेवेह यदकस्मात् प्रवर्तते ।
निवर्त्यारब्धमारम्भैर्ननु दैवस्य कर्म तत् ॥ (२.२२.१९-२०, २२-२४)

The same idea of omnipotence of denstiny is expressed again by Rāma[4] while consoling Bharata on Citrakūṭa. Rāma says :—" Indeed a man is not able to do as he desires. This person is unable. Destiny drags him here and there (forcibly). All treasures get emptied at the end. All ascents end in descents (downfalls). All unions end in separations. And life ends in death. Just as there is no other fear than from falling on the part of ripe fruits so a born person has no other fear than from death. Just as a building with steady pillars after becoming old perishes so the persons under the control of old age and death perish." Thus reality is unfolded before mankind.

Again the idea that the *course of destiny is difficult to be imagined* on earth is expressed by Kausalyā[5] while permitting Rāma to go to the forest.

Bharata[6] gives vent to the idea that *time is all powerful* while he laments on seeing the bed of grass of Rāma. Bharata remarks:—"Indeed no deity is more powerful than time. Where that Rāma, son of Daśaratha, slept thus on the ground."

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[4] Vide नात्मनः कामकारो हि पुरुषोऽयमनीश्वरः ।
इतश्चेतरतश्चैनं कृतान्तः परिकर्षति ॥
सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।
संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥
यथा फलानां पक्कानां नान्यत्र पतनाद् भयम् ।
एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्यत्र मरणाद् भयम् ॥
यथाऽऽगारं दृढस्थूणं जीर्णं भूत्वोपसीदति ।
तथावसीदन्ति नरा जरामृत्युवशंगताः ॥ (२.१०५.१५-१८)

[5] Vide कृतान्तस्य गतिः पुत्र दुर्विभाव्या सदा भुवि ।
यस्त्वां संचोदयति मे वच आविध्य राघव ॥ (२.२४.३५)

[6] Vide न नूनं दैवतं किंचित् कालेन बलवत्तरम् ।
यत्र दाशरथी रामो भूमावेवमशेत सः ॥ (२.८८. ११)

This faith in the omnipotence of destiny (or in that of time) serves to remove pride in one's good fortune and also equally serves to entertain compassion for the distressed. Thus a double purpose is served by firm faith in this power.

While permitting Rāma to go to Daṇḍakāraṇya Kausalyā remarks that time is difficult to be overcome. Kausalyā[7] tells Rāma, "O dear son, I am unable to turn back your well-formed intention to go. O brave one, indeed time is difficult to be overcome."

While narrating the unhappy incident of killing a *Tāpasa* to Kausalyā Daśaratha[8] refers to the *irrevocable law of Karma*. Daśaratha remarks :—"O auspicious one, whatever auspicious or inauspicious acts one performs the result of that very same the doer attains which has sprung up from one's own actions."

While rebuking Khara, Rāma[9] refers to the *irrevocable law of Karma*. Rāma rebukes Khara with the words, "Cruel sinners abhorred by the people after having attained affluence do not persist long just like the trees with decayed roots. The performer certainly attains the terrible fruit of a sinful act in course of time just as a tree bears a flower related to the season. O wandere at night, the fruit of sinful actions is obtained in the world soon just as the result of the poisonous food that is eaten."

This strong faith in the *law of Karma* serves to sustain the courage of person in adverse circumstances and at the same time serves to encourage person to carry on doing good deeds. Thus it serves a double purpose.

On the first night after the departure of Sumantra Rāma[10] while talkin with Lakṣmaṇa refers to the irresistible force of lust. Rāma says:— "Havin seen this calamity and the perverse intellect of the king, I think that lust only is greater than duty and worldly prosperity. Lakṣmaṇa, which man even though a non-knower would abandon a son acting according to his desire for the sake of a woman like father (abandoning) me ?"

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[7] Vide गमने सुकृतां बुद्धिं न ते शक्नोमि पुत्रक ॥
विनिवर्तयितुं वीर नूनं कालो दुरत्ययः । (२.२४.३२cd-३३ab)

[8] Vide यदाचरति कल्याणि शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम् ।
तदेव लभते भद्रे कर्ता कर्मजमात्मनः ॥ (२.६३.६)

[9] Vide न चिरं पापकर्माणः क्रूरा लोकजुगुप्सिताः ।
ऐश्वर्यं प्राप्य तिष्ठन्ति शीर्णमूला इव द्रुमाः ॥
अवश्यं लभते कर्ता फलं पापस्य कर्मणः ।
घोरं पर्यागते काले द्रुमः पुष्पमिवार्तवम् ॥
नचिरात् प्राप्यते लोके पापानां कर्मणां फलम् ।
सविषाणामिवान्नानां भुक्तानां क्षणदाचर ॥ (३.२९.७-९)

[10] Vide इदं व्यसनमालोक्य राज्ञश्च मतिविभ्रमम् ।
काम एवार्थधर्माभ्यां गरीयानिति मे मतिः ॥
को ह्यविद्वानपि पुमान् प्रमदायाः कृते त्यजेत् ।
छन्दानुवर्तिनं पुत्रं तातो मामिव लक्ष्मण ॥ (२.५३.९-१०)

Rāma[11] further continues :—" He who after having abandoned worldly prosperity and duty follows the gratification of lust comes to grief thus soon just as king Daśaratha. " Indeed a very apt generalization has been drawn !

A deep insight into the working of the human mind is come across in the advice of Daśaratha[12] to Rāma. Hastening Rāma to get himself crowned a king soon Daśaratha says :—" O Rāghava, as long as my mind does not get infatuated you get yourself crowned a king in the meanwhile. Verily, the intellect of the creatures is unsteady. " Daśaratha further continues:—" No doubt your brother Bharata follows the behaviour of the good. That he is the follower of the elder brother and has his soul set on duty. Moreover he is compassionate and self-controlled. According to my (Daśaratha's) view the mind of human beings is much unsteady. O Rāghava, even the mind of good persons following duty gets polluted by likes and dislikes on account of different reasons.

While expressing disagreement regarding Rāma's exile Bharata [13] remarks that creatures are deluded at the time of death. Bharata says :— " Indeed at the time of death the creatures are deluded. This ancient hearsay (rumour) is made visible by the king by doing so in the world. "

Agastya [14] referring to the fickle nature of women expresses his pleasure before Rāma that Sītā has remained constant in her love for Rāma and has followed him in exile. Agastya remarks :—"O son of Raghu, this is the nature of women right from creation that they remain attached to one who is favourably placed and abandon one who is in adverse situation. The women follow the tremulousness of the lightnings, the sharpness of the weapons and the speed of an eagle or wind. This your wife is devoid of these faults and is respectable (*ślāghyā*) and renowned (*Vyapadeśyā*) just like Arundhatī in the midst of respectable ladies.

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[11] Vide अर्थधर्मौ परित्यज्य यः काममनुवर्तते ।
एवमापद्यते क्षिप्रं राजा दशरथो यथा ॥ (२.५३.१३)

[12] Vide तद् यावदेव मे चेतो न विमुह्यति राघव ।
तावदेवाभिषिञ्चस्व चला हि प्राणिनां मतिः ॥ (२.४.२०)
कामं खलु सतां वृत्ते भ्राता ते भरतः स्थितः ।
ज्येष्ठानुवर्ती धर्मात्मा सानुक्रोशो जितेन्द्रियः ॥
किं नु चित्तं मनुष्याणामनित्यमिति मे मतम् ।
सतां च धर्मनित्यानां कृतशोभि च राघव ॥ (२.४.२६-२७)

[13] Vide अन्तकाले हि भूतानि मुह्यन्तीति पुरा श्रुतिः ।
राज्ञैवं कुर्वता लोके प्रत्यक्षा सा श्रुतिः कृता ॥ (२.१०६.१३)

[14] Vide एषा हि प्रकृतिः स्त्रीणामासृष्टे रघुनन्दन ।
समस्थमनुरज्यन्ते विषमस्थं त्यजन्ति च ॥

While rebuking Kaikeyī Daśaratha[15] refers to the selfish and cunning nature of women.

This knowledge of the nature of women helps one to deal with them successfully.

Lakşmaṇa[16] refers to the well-known saying that 'old age is second childhood' in his talk with Kausalyā and advises Rāma to disregard the words of Daśaratha remembering the behaviour of the kings.

Lakşmaṇa[17] referring to the saying mentioned above declares his determination to kill Daśaratha whose mind was lured by Kaikeyī.

Lakşmaṇa[18] advises Rāma to put Daśaratha to secluded imprisonment or even to kill him. Lakşmaṇa remarks :—"Even an elderly person should be brought under control if he is arrogant and ignorant of what should be done and what not and if he is led astray." Similar statement is come across in Chapter on Kaṇikanītī in the Mahābhārata[19].

शतह्रदानां लोलत्वं शस्त्राणां तीक्ष्णतां तथा ।
गरुडानिलयोः शैघ्र्यमनुगच्छन्ति योषितः ॥
इयं च भवतो भार्या दोषैरेतैर्विवर्जिता ।
श्लाध्या च व्यपदेश्या च यथा देवीष्वरुन्धती ॥ (३.१३.५-७)

15 Vide धिगस्तु योषितो नाम शठाः स्वार्थपरायणाः ।
न ब्रवीमि स्त्रियः सर्वा भरतस्यैव मातरम् ॥ (२.१२.१००)

16 Vide तदिदं वचनं राज्ञः पुनर्बाल्यमुपेयुषः ।
पुत्रः को हृदये कुर्याद् राजवृत्तमनुस्मरन् ॥ (२.२१.७)

17 Vide हनिष्ये पितरं वृद्धं कैकेय्यासक्तमानसम् ।
कृपणं च स्थितं बाल्ये वृद्धभावेन गर्हितम् ॥ (२.२१.१९)

18 Vide प्रोत्साहितोऽयं कैकेय्या संतुष्टो यदि नः पिता ।
अमित्रभूतो निःसङ्गं बध्यतां वध्यतामपि ॥
गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।
उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ॥ (२.२१.१२-१३)

19 Cf. I. 139.54 also V. 178.48, and XII. 57.7 (Gītā Press edition of the Mahābhārata)

This teaching of radical policy makes one bold and imparts him sufficient strength to rise up to the occasion.

Up till now we have taken a bird's eye view of some axioms in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* which pertain to (1) the omnipotence of destiny, (2) the omnipotence of time, (3) the irrevocable law of *Karma*, (4) the power of lust, (5) the unsteadiness of the intellect of creatures, (6) the delusion of the creatures at the time of death, (7) the weaknesses in the nature of women, (8) the old age as the second childhood and (9) the propriety in exercising control over an elderly person, led astray. Even though many more interesting axioms are come across in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* still limitations of space have necessitated the postponing of other interesting axioms in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* for treatment in subsequent issue of this Journal.

SOME REMARKS ON THE TITLE " NĀNDĪ-PURĀṆA "[1]

By

B. P. **Pandya**, Baroda

Purāṇas are generally classified in three categories viz. (1) *Mahāpurāṇas*[2] (2) *Upapurāṇas*[3] and (3) *Sthala-māhātymas* and/or *Caste-purāṇas* (*Jñātipurāṇās*).[4]

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[1] Paper read at the " *Classical Section* " of the 29th session of the All-India-Oriental-Conference held at Poona on 1, 2 and 3rd June, 1978.

[2] (A) Winternitz, M. J., " *A History of Indian Literature* ", Vol I, 1927 A.D., p. 531.

Eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* are as under :—

(1) Brahma.
(2) Padma.
(3) Viṣṇu.
(4) Vāyu or Vāyavīya.
(5) Bhāgavata.
(6) Nāradīya.
(7) Mārkaṇḍeya.
(8) Agni.
(9) Bhaviṣya or Bhaviṣyat.
(10) Brahmavaivarta.
(11) Liṅga.
(12) Varāha.
(13) Skanda.
(14) Vāmana.
(15) Kūrma.
(16) Matsya.
(17) Garuḍa.
(18) Brahmāṇḍa.

Vide : (B) Pusalker, A.D., " *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, " 1955, Introduction p. xlvii.

(C) Kantawala, S. G., " Purāṇo, " " *Sāhitya Darśana*, " (Bhāratīya-2) in the Jñānagaṅgotrī-śreṇī, pub. by Sardar Patel University, Vallabhavidyanagar, May 1975, p. 126.

[3] (i) Hazra, R. C., " The Upapurāṇa literature-Its Extent, Antiquity and Origin ", " *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* ", Vol. I, 1958, pp. 1-28.

(ii) Hazra, R. C., " The Upapurāṇas ", *ABORI* Vol. XXI, Parts I and II, Oct. 1939-40, pp. 38-62.

(iii) Kane, P. V., " *History of Dharmaśāstra* ", Vol. V, Part II, 1962, pp. 834-837.

(iv) Pusalker, A. D., " *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas* ", 1955, Introduction, p. xlviii.

(v) Kantawala, S. G. ; *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Eighteen *Upapurāṇas* are :—

(1) Bhārgava.
(2) Sanatkumāra.
(3) Nṛsiṁha.
(4) Nandi.
(5) Śivadharma.
(6) Durvāsā.

There are eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* as well as eighteen *Upapurāṇas*, but the latter are more than eighteen, some are published and some are unpublished.[5]

In their vast bulk of Purāṇas one comes across some Purāṇas which bear similar titles, eventhough they are not related to each other, e.g. (i) *Vāyu-purāṇa* one of them is a mahāpurāṇa, whereas another also known as *Vāyuvāṭ-purāṇa* or

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(7) Nāradīya.
(8) Kapila.
(9) Mānava.
(10) Uśanas.
(11) Brahmāṇḍa.
(12) Vāruṇa.
(13) Kālī.
(14) Vasiṣṭha.
(15) Sāmba.
(16) Saura.
(17) Parāśara.
(18) Mārīca.

4. (A) Dave, K. B., " Gujarātanā Jñātipurāṇo Tathā Tīrtha-māhātmyo ", " *Swādhyāya,* " (Gujarati), Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. V, Part I, Nov. 1967, pp. 87-105. *Caste-purāṇas* and/or *Sthala-māhātmyas* are :—
(1) Mallapurāṇa of Jyeṣṭhimalla Brahmins.
(2) Śrīmāla-purāṇa of Śrīmālī Brahmins
(3) Vālakhilya-purāṇa of Jharolā Brahmins and Banias.
(4) Sāciharopākhyāna of Sācībara or Sācorā Brahmins.
(5) Siddhavaṭikā-māhātmya of Diśāwala Brahmins and Banias.
(6) Kotyarka-māhātmya of Khadāyatā Brahmins and Banias.
(7) Brahmakṣetra-māhātmya of Khedāwāla Brahmins.
(8) Kaṇḍula-purāṇa of Kaṇḍoliyā Brahmins, Kapola and Sorathia Banias.
(9) Anāvila-purāṇa of Anāvila Brahmins.
(10) Bhārgava-purāṇa of Bhārgava Brahmins.
(11) Udīcyaprakāśa of Audīcya Brahmins.
(12) Moḍheraka-purāṇa of Moḍha Brahmins and Banias.
(13) Sarasvatī-purāṇa of Sārasvata Brahmins.
(14) Śrīgaudaprakāśa of Śrīgauda Brahmins.
(15) Raikvamāhātmya of Rāyakwāla Brahmins.
(16) Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of Mewāḍā Brahmins.
(17) Kālikā-purāṇa of Kaṅsārā-caste-coppersmith.
(18) Vāyu-purāṇa of Vāyuvāt-purāṇa of Vāyadā Brahmins and Banias.

Vide: (B) Sandesara, B. J. & Mehta, R. N., " *Malla-purāṇa* ", *GOS* No. 144, Baroda, 1964, Introduction, p. 2. (C) Jani, A.N., " *Kālikā-purāṇa* " (with Gujarati translation) of Kaṅsārā-caste, 1973, Introduotion p. 2-4. (D) Kantawala, S. G. ; *Ibid.*, p. 126.

5. Hazra, R. C., " *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* ", Vol. I, 1958, p. 13.

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Vāyu-purāṇa is a caste-purāṇa of Vāyadā Brahmins and Banias of Gujarat, (ii) *Kālikā-purāṇa* : There are more than one *Kālikā-purāṇa* viz. Kālikā-purāṇa, Kālī-purāṇa, Satī-purāṇa etc.[6] Sometimes the latter Purāṇa-writers give the name of an old mahāpurāṇa to a later composition to claim importance for it, and to show that, that Purāṇa is very old. Sometimes some purāṇas bear alternative titles resulting into a similarity of a title and have hence created some controversy in the field of Purāṇic studies, e.g. *Vāyu-purāṇa* and *Śiva-purāṇa*. Regarding these two purāṇas, Pusalker, A.D.[7] and Hazra, R. C.[8] have shown that the Śiva-purāṇa is not a Mahāpurāṇa, as some purāṇas read Śiva in place of Vāyu.

Some of the *Caste-purāṇas* and/or *Sthala-māhātmyas* are a part of or claim to be a part of a larger mahāpurāṇa, e.g. Dharmāraṇya-purāṇa[9] of Moḍha Brahmins and Banias ; Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa is of Nāgar Brahmins[10] etc.

The *caste-purāṇas* ((*Jñāti-purāṇas*) or *sthala-māhātmyas* deal with the origin, development and importance of a particular caste or place with relation to religion. One such caste-purāṇa is the "*Nāndī-purāṇa*" with its separate māhātmya viz. *Nāndī-purāṇa-Māhātmyaṁ* (in 15 *Adhyāyas*) dealing with the origin etc. of the Nandavāṇā Brahmins·

There are some *upapurāṇas* going under the title of *Nandā-purāṇa*, *Nandi-purāṇa*, *Nānda-purāṇa*, *Nandikeśvara-purāṇa* and *Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇa*

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[6] For *Kālikā-purāṇa* read :—
(a) Hazra, R. C., "*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*", Vol. II, 1963, pp. 194-259, (b) Raghvan, V., "The kālikā -(up) purāṇa," "*JOR*, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 331-360, (c) Viśvanarayana Sastri (ed.) "*Kālikā-purāṇa*", Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series 1972, (d) "*Kālikā-purāṇa*", Veṅkateśvara Press 1908, (Saṁvat 1964). These (c) and (d) are different then "*The Kālik purāṇa,*" of Jani, A. N. which is a caste-purāṇa of Kansārā- caste (Coppersmith) vide. ; ante ft. 4., also see (e) Van Kooji, K. R., "*Worship of the goddess according to the Kālikā-purāṇa,*" Leiden, 1972.

[7] Pusalker, A.D., "Vāyu-purāṇa versus Śiva-purāṇa", (i) "*Journal of of the University of Bombay*" Bombay, Vol. X, Part 2, Sept. 1941, pp 148-155 ; (ii) "*Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*", 1955, pp. 31-41.

[8] Hazra, R. C, "Problems relating to Śiva-purāṇa", "*Our Heritage*" Vol. I, Part I, Jan.-June 1953, pp. 46-68.

[9] (a) *Dharmāraṇya-purāṇa* (from *Skanda-purāṇa*) (with Gujarati translation), by Vaidya Maṇikyarāma Durlabharāma Sastri.
(b) *Dharmāraṇya* (from *Padma-purāṇa*) (with Gujarati translation) by Pathak Prabhashankar Jayashankar, Bombay, 1924 (Both and b quoted by Jani, A. N. vide ante ft. 4 (c)

[10] Sandesara, B. J. and Mehta, R. N. ; vide ante ft. 4 (B).

These similarity of titles has created confusion in understanding and consequent controversy in the Purāṇic studies. To this list may be added the *Nāndi-purāṇa*, hence the need and scope of the present paper.

The *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (II, 1, p. 21), *Nityācāra-pradipa* (p. 18) and *Vira-mitrodaya Paribhāṣā-prakāśa* (p. 15) refer to the Nandi-purāṇa and Nandā-purāṇa respectively as follows : –

> नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति कीर्त्यते ।
> नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति चोच्यते ।
> नन्दापुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति कीर्त्यते ॥ [11]

This *Nandi-purāṇa* is declared by Kārttikeya and it described the glory of Nandā i.e. Gaurī according to *Matsya-purāṇa* [12] and *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* [13]. With reference to the reading of *Matsya-purāṇa* viz, *Nandi-purāṇa*, Aufrecht notes the variant *Nandā-purāṇaṁ* [14]. According to some the Nandi-purāṇa is also known as *Skānda*, *Vāyavīya* and *Śaukeya.* [15]

It has to be noted that " not a single Ms. of Nandi-purāṇa has been found as yet " as remarked by Hazra, R. C. [16]. On the basis of the citations in other texts Hazra, R. C., comes to the coclusion that " it originally dealt with the praise of Nandā but was later on utilized by the Śiva-worshippers for spreading their ideas. Its Vaiṣṇava character was most probably the last stage in its change. [17] He opines that " it was an early work and must have been written before 700 A.D." [18]

There has been a confusion of taking Nandi-purāṇa as *Nandikeśvara-purāṇa* alias *Nandīśvara-purāṇa.* But Hazra, R. C., has shown that " the *Nandi-purāṇa*

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11. As quoted by Hazra, R. C., " The Nandi-purāṇa ", *JGJRI*, Vol. II, Part 4, August 1945, p. 306.
12. Matsya-purāṇa, (Ānandāśrama ed.)

    नन्दाया यत्र माहात्म्यं कार्त्तिकेयेन वर्ण्यते ।
    नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोकैराख्यातमिति कीर्त्यते ॥ 53.61
13. नन्दिने यत्र माहात्म्यं कार्तिकेयेन वर्ण्यते ।
    लोके नन्दिपुराणं वै ख्यातमेतद्द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
    Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa-1,2,81 (of the *Skanda-purāṇa*).
14. Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue.* p. 40, No. 95, quoted by Hazra, R. C., " The Nandi-purāṇa ", " *The Journal of the Gaṇganatha Jha Research Institute* " (*JGJRI*), Vol. II, part-4, August 1945, p. 306.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 306.-309.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

must not be taken to be the same as the *Nandikeśvara-purāṇa* (also called *Nandīśvara-purāṇa*).[19]

With this problem of the Nandi-purāṇa and Nandikeśvara-purāṇa is also associated the problem of the *Nandikeśvara-yugmaṁ* mentioned by Raghunandana in his *Malamāsa-tattva*[20]. On this point Hazra observes that " the Nandikeśvara-purāṇa was a work quite different from the Nandi-purāṇa. It must not also be taken to be the same as the Śivadharma and the Śivadharmottara[21]. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar opines that " the disappearance of Nandi-purāṇa is one of the unsolved riddles in purāṇic history. It is not unlikely that it has been absorbed in some purāṇa or upa-purāṇa. To discover, if this has been done, is a formidable task. But the custodians of our great manuscript libraries might, in the meantime, pursue this elusive upa-purāṇa with the clues furnished by over 200 *Śloka*s from it, which are available in Lakṣmīdhara's great digest, that is approaching publication. "[22] Kane, P. V., also says that, " as this is one of the four upapurāṇas expressly named by the Matsya, as Alberuni mentions a Nanda-purāṇa which (appears to be the same as Nandi) and as it is largely quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka and Dānasāgara it is one of the earliest upa-purāṇas and may have been composed in the 8th or 9th century A.D. "[23]

Over and above the above-mentioned purāṇas there is one more purāṇa called the *Nāndī-purāṇa* as noted above. As Hazra, R. C., writes " it is meant for the glorification of the Nāndīmukha or Nandabāṇā Brahmins living in Gujarat as well as in a part of Rajputana which lies round about Puṣkara in the district of Ajmere-Marwar. It traces the origin of these Brahmins from the Nāndīmukha Pitṛs and says that they gave up their Brahmaṇical rites and conduct and became merchants ".[24] It is the Nāndīmukha Brahmins who are spoken of as "Nandavāṇā-Brahmins" by the *Nāndī-purāṇa*[25] and *Nāndīmukha-māhātmya*".[26]

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[19] For discussion see, *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[20] *Malamāsa-tattva*, (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa with Kāśirama Vācaspatiś Commentary), p. 213.
' *Nandikeśvara-yugmaṁ bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇaṁ nadikeśvara purāṇaṁ ca* '. Quoted by Hazra, R. C., *Ibid.*, p. 312, ft. 31.

[21] Hazra, R. C., " The Bṛhannandikeśvara and the Nandikeśvara-purāṇa ", " *B. C. Law Volume*, " Part II, 1946, p. 418.

[22] Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V., " Nandī-purāṇa, " " *New Indian Antiquary* ", Vol. IV, 1941-42, p. 161.

[23] Kane, P. V., " *History of Dharmaśāstra* ", Vol. V, part II, 1962, p. 89.

[24] Hazra, R. C., " Studies in the Genuine Āgneya purāṇa (alias-Vahni-purāṇa), "—Part II, " *Our Heritage* ", Vol. II, Part I, January-June 1954, p. 110.

Nāndīpura is said to be the original place of the Nāndīmukha Brahmins and *Nāndī-purāṇa* gives an account of Nāndī-pura as follows :—

After the destruction of the Nāndīpura by the curse of Lord Indra,[27] after a long time, the Śūdra king Nanda chanced to come there for hunting. He shot dead a pigeon, but the pigeon told about the hidden golden-city of Nāndīpura buried under the ground. He dug it out of the ground, found the golden-city and invited all Nandavāṇā Brahmins from wherever they were.[28] (Nāndīpurāṇa chapter 45. 18-25) and re-established them there. The above account goes to explain the title of this caste-purāṇa. The word *Nāndī-* thus signifies a reference to the king Nanda referred to above and the Nāndīmukha Brahmins.

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[25] *Nāndī-purāṇa*, ed. by Bole, V. D., Rajkot, Saṁvat 1995 (= 1939 A.D.) reads as follows :—

कृते नांदीमुखाः प्रोक्तास्त्रेतायां यज्ञकारकाः ।
द्वापरे हृतसंस्थाना नंदवाणाः कलौ स्मृताः ॥ 52.3

[26] *Nāndīmukha-māhātmya*, *Ibid.*,

(a) कृष्ण परिग्रहे विप्रैः वृद्धिश्राद्धं प्रकल्पितम् ।
ततस्तत्र नांदीमुखा (विप्रा) नंदवाणा इति स्थिता ॥ २.१ ॥

(b) तस्यादि तृतीयं स्थानं नांदिनगरमुत्तमम् । २.१७ ।
नांदीमुखाभिधानेन नंदवाणा कलौ युगे ॥
श्रृणु वत्स महाप्राज्ञ नांदिनगरमुत्तमम् ॥ २.१८ ॥

(c) रक्षार्थं तु प्रयत्नेन नांदीमुखद्विजन्मनाम् ॥
भविष्यंति कलौ मध्ये नंदवाणा इति स्मृताः ॥ २.३६^{ab} ॥

(d) एवं नांदीमुखा विप्राः स्थापनीयाः प्रयत्नतः ।
कृष्णस्य वल्लभा ये ते नंदवाणा कलौ युगे ॥ २.४६ ॥

(e) सदाचाराः सुविद्वांसो रूपवंतो यशस्विनः ।
भविष्यन्ति कलौ मध्ये नंदवाणाभिधानतः ॥ ३.६५ ॥

(f) अथाप्यनंतरं वत्स नंदवाणाभिधानतः ।
हर्षिताश्च महानंदे ब्रह्मस्थानेषु स्थापिताः ॥ ३.७८ ॥

and many others.

[27] *Nāndī-purāṇa*, *Ibid.*, Adhyāya 43 and 44.

[28] According to "*Nāndīmukha-māhātmya*", (ed. by Bole, V. D., Rajkot, Saṁvat 1995), Adhyāya 8.62-66. they were invited from the Himalayan region . . viz.

आनीताय महाविप्रा नंदराज्ञा हिमालयात् । ६२ ab ।
आनीता नंदराजेन द्विजाः सर्वे हिमालयात् । ६६ ।

It is quite possible that the word Nāndī in the title Nāndī-purāṇa stands mostly for the Nāndīmukha Brahmins known as Nandavāṇā as noted above. Linguistically it may be mentioned :—

नन्दवाणा *< नन्दवान् *< नन्दीवान् *< नान्दीवान्.

It is significant to note that the inscription dated 28-4-1601 (Vs. 1657) at Dhrāngdhrā (Saurashtra, Gujarat) records the form नंदुआणा.[29] Another inscription dated 20-9-1625 (Vs. 1682) at Kālāvāda (Saurashtra, Gujarat) employs a form नंदवाणा.[30] These dates have also a bearing on the date of *Nāndī-purāṇa* and *Nāndī-purāṇa-māhātmya*.

Thus this *Nāndī-purāṇa* is different from all other above mentioned purāṇas eventhough it bears semblance with some variation in nomenclature.

It is to be noted that the colophons of the chapters of this Nāndī-purāṇa reads, " इति श्री वह्निपुराणे नांदीमुखोत्पत्तौ – नाम प्रथमोऽध्याय: । etc. From this it is clear that the present *Nāndī-purāṇa* is a part of the *Vahni-purāṇa*, The interlocutors of this *Nāndī-purāṇa* are Vasiṣṭha and Vahni or Agni.

There is another purāṇa called *Vahni-purāṇa* also known as the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. The interlocutors in this *Vahni-purāṇa* or *Āgneya-purāṇa* according to *Matsya-purāṇa* (53.28-30) and the *Skanda-purāṇa* (VII. 1.2, 47-48) are Agni and Vasiṣṭha. Hazra, R. C., observes " the mention of Agni and Vasiṣṭha as the principal interlocutors in the Āgneya-purāṇa shows that the Matsya and the Skanda-purāṇa speak definitely of the Vaiṣṇava form of the Āgneya. "[31] But Ballalasena has quoted many references from Vahni-purāṇa or Agni-purāṇa in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, where the interlocutors in a good number of chapters are Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīśa.[32] P. V. Kane, has also noted that " Agni is 16,000 verses in extent, deals with the incidents of Īśānakalpa and is narrated to Vasiṣṭha to Agni ".[33] Hence it may be surmised that the *Vahni-*

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[29] Diskalkar, D. B., *Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, No. 110, p. 275.

[30] *Ibid.*, No. 121, p. 285.

[31] Hazra, R. C., " Studies in the Genuine Āgneya-purāṇa (alias Vahni-purāṇa)", Part II, "*Our Heritage*", Vol. II, Part I, January-June, 1954, p. 79.

[32] Hazra, R. C., " Purāṇa Literature as known to Ballālasena ", " *The Journal of the Oriental Research*", Madras, Vol. XII, Part II, April-June, 1938, p. 134.

[33] Kane, P. V. " *History of Sanskrit Poetics* ", 1951, p. 4.

यत्तदीशानकल्पस्य वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य च ।
वसिष्ठायाग्निना प्रोक्तमाग्नेयं तत्प्रचक्षते ॥

— — —

तच्च षोडशसाहस्रं सर्वक्रतुफलप्रदम् ॥
मत्स्यपुराण 53.28-30 and स्कन्दपुराण–प्रभासखण्ड VII. 1.2.47-50

purāṇa of which the *Nāndī-purāṇa* claims to be a part is different from these other above mentioned *Vahni-purāṇas*. Taking these words Agni, Āgneya and Vahni as synonyms there has been a discussion about their identity or distinctness.

The present printed Agni-purāṇa is understood as a Vahni-purāṇa by some authorities,[34] but both are different. There is one more purāṇa under the title "*Āgneya-purāṇa*", but this is also distinct from the present printed *Agni-purāṇa*. According to R. C. Hazra, *Āgneya-purāṇa* and *Vahni-purāṇa* are one and the same.[35]

It may be noted that the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa (VII, i. 2.47-48) mentions Agni and Vasiṣṭha, the interlocutors in the *Āgneya-purāṇa* alias *Vahnī-purāṇa*. This Nāndī-purāṇa which claims to be a part of the *Vahni-purāṇa* has also Agni-or Vahni and Vasiṣṭha as the interlocutors.

It is to be noted that there is one more Ms. under the title "*Agni-purāṇa*" (Acc. No. 11393), in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which is not noted by R. C. Hazra. In its all marginalia the title is "*Agni-purāṇa*' but the colophon of some initial chapters read इत्याद्ये आग्नेये ......; where as the colophon of the remaining chapters read इत्याद्ये वह्निपुराणे .... The said purāṇa ends with the *Rāmarājyābhiṣeka* episode. This purāṇa is different from the printed Agni-purāṇa.[36] Herein the interlocutors are Vasiṣṭha and the king Ambarīṣa. It seems that it may be the same *Āgneya-purāṇa* or *Vahni-purāṇa* as referred to by Ballalasena and discussed by R. C. Hazra.[37] Under these circumstances of two sets of interlocutors can it be observed that there were two distinct *Vahni-purāṇas* alias *Āgneya-purāṇas* ?

From the above going discussion, it is clear that the present purāṇa i.e. *Nāndī-purāṇa* is distinct from the abovementioned upapurāṇas viz. *Nandi-purāṇa* etc. and that it is a caste-purāṇa dealing with the origin of Nandavāṇā Brahmins of Gujarat, Rajasthana and who are now spread over different parts of India.

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[34] Kane, P. V., "*History of Sanskrit Poetics*", 1951, p. 4. reads as, "The commentary of Maheśvara and that on Vidyābhūṣaṇa quoted above apparently make no distinction between Agni-purāṇa and Vahni-purāṇa."

[35] Hazra, R. C., "Studies in the Genuine Āgneya-purāṇa (alias Vahni-purāṇa)", Part I and II, "*Our Heritage*", Vols. I, Part II July-Dec. 1953 pp. 209-245 and *Ibid*:—Vol. II, Part I, January-June, 1954, pp. 77-110.

[36] (a) Ānandāśrama press, ed. 1957.
(b) Veṅkateśvara press ed. Saṁvat 1958.

[37] Vide ante ft. 36.

THE RIDDLE OF THE MEWĀSĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS

By

V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur

This inscription was discovered in 1898 at Mewāsā, a village in the Cutch District of Gujarath by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai Udayram of Bombay. It is now deposited in the museum at Bhūj. The record was first noticed by V. G. Trivedi and D. B. Diskalkar in the *Annual Report of the Watson Museum*, Rajkot, 1923-24, pp. 12 f. Later, Diskalkar edited it in the *Transactions of the fifth All-India Oriental Conference* (1928), pp. 565 f. but without any plate. B. N. Mukerjee, adopting Diskalkar's transcript, discussed the contents of this record in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1961), pp. 106 f. Recently Rasesh Jamindar, who had made an eye-copy of it, discussed it in a paper which he read at the Madras Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India in January 1978. Though discussed by several scholars, the riddle of this inscription still remains unsolved. As no facsimile of it had been published I requested the Director General of Archaeology to get it copied for me. I also requested Shri D. K. Vaidya, Curator of the Cutch Museum to supply me its copies for decipherment. He kindly sent me photographs, eye-copies and rubbings, but they were not sufficiently clear and were not good for reproduction. Finally, at the instance of Shri B. K. Thapar, Joint Director General of Archaeology, Dr. C. Margabandhu, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, kindly sent his colleague Dr. B. L. Nagarch to copy the inscription. The latter supplied me two excellent inked estampages from which the record is edited here. I am deeply indebted to all these authorities who have made a critical study of this difficult record possible. The accompanying plate has been prepared from an estampage supplied by Dr. Nagarch.

The inscription is incised on a stone which is 2 ft. 1 in. in height and 1 ft. 2 in. in breadth at the top and 1 ft. 5 in. at the bottom. This shows that the stone has lost a small strip at the right side. This is also made clear by the plate which shows a mutilated letter at the end of the third line of the record.[1] This was evidently not noticed by Diskalkar. It has vitiated his reading and interpretation. Other scholars who adopted his transcript had no means to correct his readings. This fact is, however, important for the interpretation of the present inscription as shown below.

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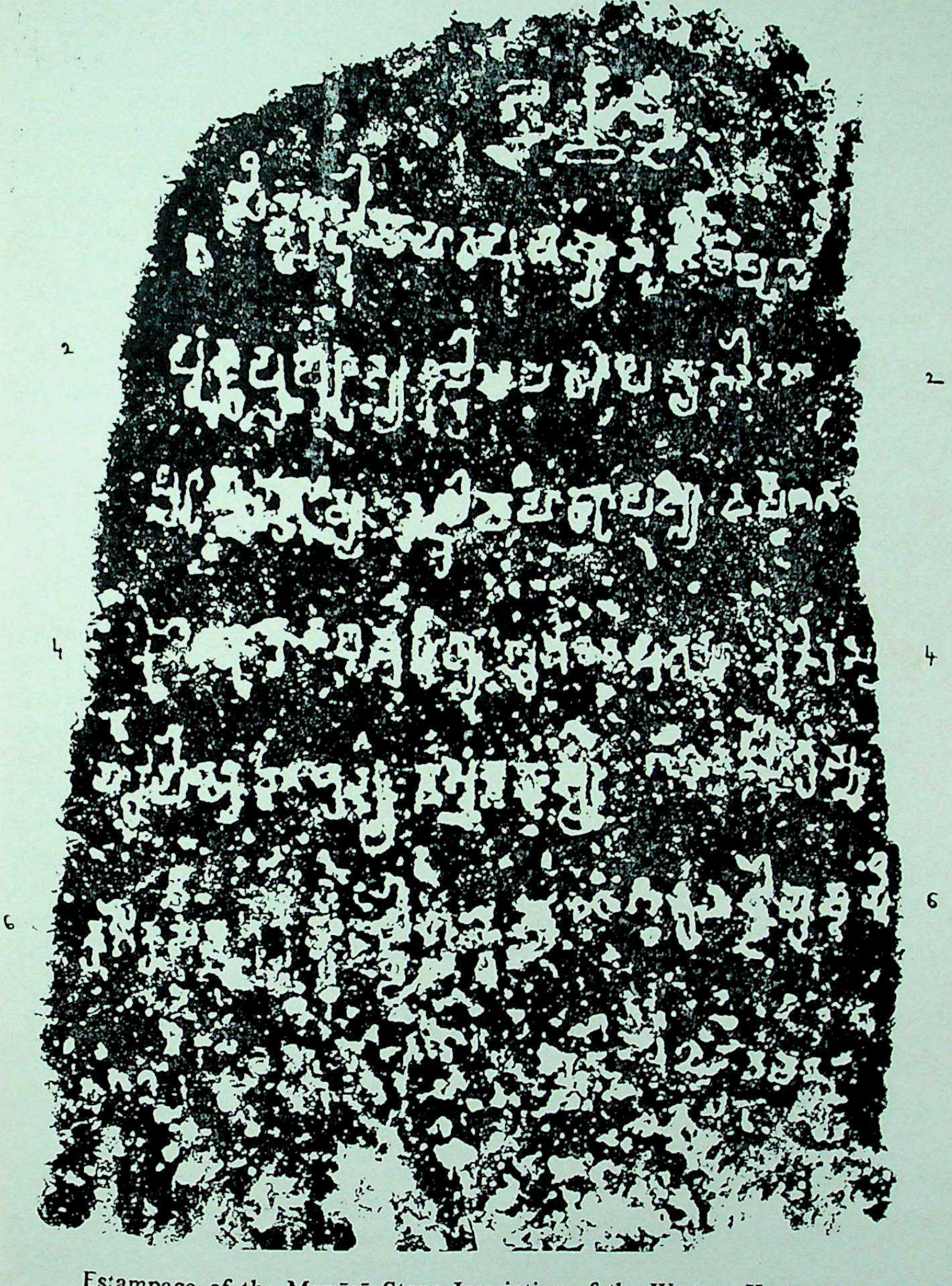
[1] The letter *d* of the conjunct *dva* appears at the end of line 3 in the plate. Again, the sense shows that the *akṣara sya* has also been broken away at the end of lines 1 and 2.



Estampage of the Mewāsā Stone Inscription of the Western Kṣatrapas

At the head of the inscription there appear some letters or symbols about which Diskalkar remarked as follows[2] : " An interesting point about the inscription is the presence of three symbols on the top which cannot be deciphered or interpreted. They may be either symbols or abbreviated forms of some letters and may have benedictory significance. I hope the epigraphists assembled here (of the Oriental Conference) will examine the photograph of the record herewith attached and try to find out their meaning. " The plate shows two *akṣaras* with an upright symbol between them. The *akṣaras* are *dri* and *ṣṭaṁ*, and the symbol seems to be an auspicious lamp-stand placed between them. *Dṛṣṭam* occurs in the beginning of some Vākāṭaka grants. Fleet took the word as auspicious[3] like *siddham* which is noticed in the beginning of several early and late inscriptions. Later, the word was not noticed in the beginning of some records which were incomplete.[4] So it was taken in the sense of ' seen ' and was believed to signify authorisation of the record. Its occurence at the head of the present inscription, where there is no question of authorisation,[5] seems to indicate that it was an auspicious word.

The present record consists of seven lines. Except the last line which is almost wholly illegible, the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The characters are of the southern alphabet. The following peculiarities are noteworthy. The conjunct *kṣa* almost everywhere appears cursive. See *e g. Mahākṣatrapasya*, line 2. The *akṣara tra* is written in two ways (1) either by lenghening the left member of *ta* to end in a hook on the right as in *puttra-praputrasya*, line 2, which is peculiar to this record or (2) by lengthening the right member of *ta* to end in a similar hook on the left as in *dauhitrasya*, line 5, which is the usual way noticed in other records. The curve denoting ñ in the conjunct *jña* is added to its vertical on the left and not on the right as is usually done. See *rājño* in lines 1 to 3. The signs of medial *i*, *o* and *au* are shown by ornamental curves on the top of letters. See rājño, line 1, and *dauhitra* in line 5. The language is incorrect Sanskit mixed with Prakrit names and words like *Bhadidama* (for *Bhartṛdāman*), line 2, and *yaṭṭi* line 6.

The purpose of the inscription is to record that a *yaṣṭi* (memorial stone) was set up by Vasurāka, an Ābhīra of the Harihovaka *gotra*, who was a son of Vapa,[6] grandson of Śvasana and daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of [Gugana] on the

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[2] *Transactions of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 568.

[3] *CII.* III p. 240.

[4] CII. V, pp. 78 and 80.

[5] The present inscription is a private record. So there is no question of its being authorised.

[6] The readings of ordinary personal names given by us are not quite certain owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the present record. Diskalkar read *Vasa* here. His readings of the two following names are also different.

7th day[7] of Kārttika in a particular year (discussed below) in memory of his master (*bhartṛ*) Rājyeśvara. The last line seems to state that he erected a dwelling also (*bhavanaṁ ca*) for the same purpose.

The present record mentions two Western Kṣatrapas, *viz*. Caṣṭana, the founder of the family, in line 1, and Bhadidama (Bhartṛdāman) in line 2, and also a year in lines 3-4, the reading and interpretation of which have become very controversial. Before determining the year of the present record and the name of the Kṣatrapa in whose reign it was incised, we reproduce on the next page the complete genealogy of the line of Caṣṭana as given by Rapson in his standard work on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas,[8] for ready reference.

All inscriptions of the line of Caṣṭana mention his name in the beginning and then state the relation of the contemporary Kṣatrapa to him by using such words as *putra* (son), *pautra* (grandson), *prapautra* (great-grandson) or *putra-prapautra* (great-great grandson). As the Sanskrit language has no words to denote further descent, *putra-prapautra* was used to denote ' a descendant ' in general. The present record mentions Bhadidama (Bhartṛdāman) as the *putra-prapautra* of Caṣṭana. If we refer to the genealogical table given on the next page we shall find that he belonged not to the fourth but to the seventh generation after Caṣṭana. So Diskalkar rightly took the expression *putra-pra-putra* in line 2 used to describe the relation of Bhatṛdāman to Caṣṭana in the sense a descendant '.

The present record further states that the *yaṣṭi* was set up during the reig of an un-named *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa*, who was the putra-pra-putra o Bhadidaman (Bhartṛdāman). To identify this un-named Mahākṣatrap Diskalkar used the date mentioned in lines 3-4. He read it as *varṣa-śata* (*te tryuttarake* and took it to mean the year 300. Like other dates of the inscrip tions and coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, this date also must be referred to th Śaka era.

Diskalkar next argued as follows—We find that after Bhartṛdāman, wh ruled in Śaka 204-217, the title of *Mahākṣatrapa* was in abeyance until the reig of Rudradāman II, who is the next *Mahakṣatrapa* known from *Kṣatrapa* coin His own coins have not been found, but he is mentioned as *Mahākṣatrapa* in th legends of the coins of his son, Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III. The latt was ruling in Śaka 300. He was probably the un-named *Mahākṣatrapa* ruling Śaka 300 as stated in the present inscription. He could have been the gre

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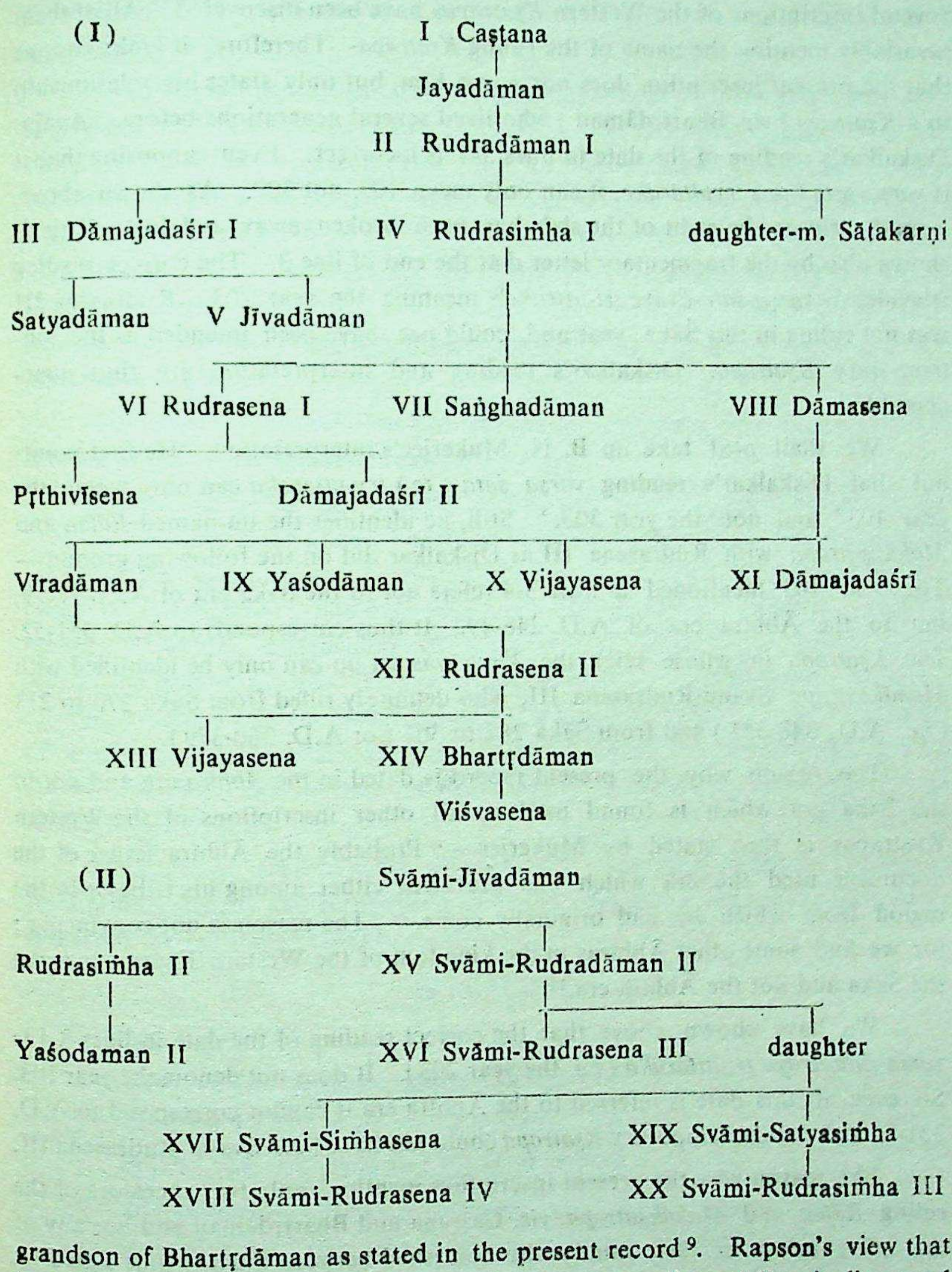
[7] Diskalkar read *su* 5 here, but the symbol signifying the *tithi* does not appear like t of 5. However, this difference in the readings is of no consequence.

[8] The Roman figures attached to the names denote the respective number in the or of the succession of the *Mahākṣatrapas*. They are not the same as given by Rapson because have omitted the first two rulers, *viz*. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna and also Īśvaradatta, who not of the line of Caṣṭana. Some scholars read the name of Jīvadāman's son as Rudras (III). See *JNSI*. XXXVII, pp. 155 f.

Generalogical Table of the Western Kṣatrapas


(I)
I Caṣṭana
Jayadāman
II Rudradāman I
III Dāmajadaśrī I
IV Rudrasiṁha I
daughter-m. Sātakarṇi
Satyadāman
V Jīvadāman
VI Rudrasena I
VII Saṅghadāman
VIII Dāmasena
Pṛthivīsena
Dāmajadaśrī II
Vīradāman
IX Yaśodāman
X Vijayasena
XI Dāmajadaśrī
XII Rudrasena II
XIII Vijayasena
XIV Bhartṛdāman
Viśvasena
(II)
Svāmi-Jīvadāman
Rudrasiṁha II
XV Svāmi-Rudradāman II
Yaśodaman II
XVI Svāmi-Rudrasena III
daughter
XVII Svāmi-Siṁhasena
XIX Svāmi-Satyasiṁha
XVIII Svāmi-Rudrasena IV
XX Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha III

grandson of Bhartṛdāman as stated in the present record[9]. Rapson's view that he belonged not to the line of Caṣṭana but to some collateral line is disproved by the present inscription which makes him a great-grandson of Bhartṛdāman, who was a direct descendant of Caṣṭana.

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[9] Here Diskalkar took *putra-pra-putra* to mean 'a great-grandson'.

There are several difficulties in accepting Diskalkar's interpretation. Several inscriptions of the Western *Kṣatrapas* have been discovered. All of them invariably mention the name of the ruling *Kṣatrapa*- Therefore, it looks strange that the present inscription does not name him, but only states his relationship to a *Kṣatrapa* (*viz*. Bhartṛdāman) who lived several generations before. Again, Diskalkar's reading of the date in lines 3-4 is incorrect. Even supposing that it is *varṣa-ṣata* (*te*) *tryuttarake*, it can only mean 103, not 300. As shown above, a small strip on the right of the slab has been broken away and lost. This is shown also by the fragmentary letter *d* at the end of line 3. The correct reading is evidently *varṣa-śata-dvaye tri-uttrake*[10] meaning the year 203. Rudrasena III was not ruling in this Śaka year and could not have been intended as the contemporary *Kṣatrapa*. Diskalkar's reading and interpretation are thus unacceptable.

We shall next take up B. N. Mukerjee's interpretation. He first points out that Diskalkar's reading *varṣa śata* (*te*) *try-uttaraka* can only mean 'the year 103' and not 'the year 300.' Still, he identifies the un-named *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa* with Rudrasena III as Diskalkar did on the following ground— The year 103 mentioned in lines 3-4 refers not to the Śaka era of A.D. 78-79, but to the Ābhīra era of A.D. 248-49. It thus corresponds to A.D. 351-52. The *Kṣatrapa* in whose reign the *Yaṣṭi* was set up can only be identified with *Mahākśatrapa* Svāmi-Rudrasena III, who definitely ruled from Śaka 270 to 273 (*i.e*. A.D. 348-351) and from Śaka 282 to 301 (or A.D. 360-379).

The reason why the present record is dated in the *Ābhīra* era and not in the Śaka era which is found used in all other inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas is thus stated by Mukerjee—" Probably the Ābhīra issuer of the document used the era which was prevalent either among his tribe or in the region from which he had originaliy come." The reason is not convincing; for we find some other Ābhīras in the kingdom of the Western Kṣatrapas using the Śaka and not the Ābhīra era.[11]

We have shown above that the correct reading of the date in lines 3-4 is *varṣa-śata-dvaye tri-uttaraka* (*i e*. the year 203). It does not denote the year 103. So even if this date is referred to the Ābhīra era it cannot correspond to A.D. 351-52 and the contemporary *Kṣatrapa* could not have been Svāmi-Rudrasena III.

The reason why the present inscription mentions only two ancestors of the ruling *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa*, *viz*. Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman and not any of the other rulers of their family who flourished between them is thus stated by Mukerjee :—" The intention of the author of our record seems to be to mention only the first ruler of the family concerned and its last ruler before it suffered temporary eclipse. Caṣṭana was undisputedly the first ruler of his house. Consequently Bhartṛdāman was probably the last ruler of Caṣṭana's family of pre-eclipsed days."

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[10] *Tri-uttrake* is corrupt for *try-uttarake*.

[11] See e.g. the Gunda inscription of Rudrasiṁha I, dated Śaka 103. *JRAS*. 1890, p. 650

Usually, the genealogy of the Western *Kṣatrapas* of *Kāṭhiāwāḍ* and Mālwā is divided into the following two parts—(i) the first from Caṣṭana to Bhartṛdāman (or his son Viśvasena) and (ii) the second from Jīvadāman to Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha (iii) Mukerjee would divide it into three parts—(1) from Caṣṭana to Bhartṛdāman ; (2) from Jīvadāman to Yaśodaman and (3) from Rudradāman II to Rudrasiṁha III. We have no evidence for this threefold division. Again, in no other inscription of the Western Kṣatrapas do we notice such a mention of Bhatṛdāman on the ground that the family was temporarily eclipsed in his time.

Mukerjee's interpretation also is thus unacceptable. We next take up the interpretation of Rasesh Jamindar for scrutiny.

Rasesh Jamindar has pointed out almost the same defects in Mukerjee's view as we have done above, but his own interpretation is not unchallengeable. He cuts the Gordian knot by reading the last word in line 2 as *Rudrasiṁha-* instead of *Bhadidama-*. The only reason for this reading is that we have another record of Ābhīra Rudrasiṁha of the year 103, which is also the year in lines 3-4 of the present record. This is strange reasoning. Readings must be settled on the evidence of true facsimiles and not on that of the use of identical years of any era. The facsimile attached to the present article shows clearly that the correct reading is *Bhadidama*, not *Rudrasiṁha*. So this solution of the problem is also unconvincing.

How are we then to solve this riddle ? For this we must decipher the inscription correctly and scrutinise it carefully. We give below our reading of the text from the facsimile plate attached.

द्रि । ष्टं [12][।*]

१ सिद्धं (द्धम्) [।*] राज्ञो महृ (हा) क्षप्र (त्र) पस्य चष्टन [स्य*]
२ पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भदिदम [स्य*]
३ पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य र (रा) ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य वर्षशतद्... [12(a)]
४ त्रि [उ] त्त्रेके वपपुत्रस्य श्वसन [प्र] पुत्रस्य अभीरस्य
५ हरिदोवकसगोत्त्रस्य वसुराकस्य गुशनदौहित्रस्य[13]
६ कार्त्तिक [सु] द (दि) ७[14] । राज्येश्वरस्य भर्तु य (र्ये) हृि प्रष्टपि

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[12] Read *dṛṣṭam*.

[12(a)] Only the first member of the conjunct *dva* appears in the facsimile at the end of line 3. One syllable, *viz. sya* is lost at the end of lines 1 and 2. Read *śatadvaye tryuttarake*.

[13] Diskalkar read *duhitusya*, but the plated clearly shows *dauhitrasya* at the end of line 5.

[14] Diskalkar read *Karttikasya su* 5. The record is not clear here.

७ त (ता)[15]............ ..

[16]भवनं च [।*]

The record must be so interpreted that it will contain the following particulars :—

(1) It must contain the name of the reigning *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa* ;

(2) Its date must have been recorded in the Śaka era ;

(3) The *yaṣṭi* must have been erected in memory of some relative or a person connected in some way.

We find these particulars almost invariably in inscriptions recording the setting up of *yaṣṭis* (memorial stones). So they are expected to be mentioned in the present inscription also.

Now, if we scrutinise the record carefully, we shall notice that the word *putra-pra-putrasya rājño mahākṣatrapasya* occur in this very order both in line 2 and in line 3. The writer of the present inscription seems to have repeated them in line 3 through carelessness as happens sometimes when one is copying a text from a written record. So omiting the repeated words, the present inscription would read as follows :—

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिचष्टनस्य पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्दिदमस्य वर्षशतद्वये त्रिउत्तरके. .।

Again, as stated above, the date of the present record is *varṣaśata-dvaye tri-uttarake*, i. e. 203. This date, like all other dates in the inscriptions and legends of the coins of the Western *Kṣatrapas* must be referred to the Śaka era. From *Kṣatrapa* coins we know that it falls in the reign of Bhartṛdāman as stated in the present record[7]. So his name is rightly associated with it.

Mukerjee thought that the *yaṣṭi* was set up in memory of the reigning king (*Rājyeśvara*). Of this there is no evidence. Rājyeśvara, who is described as *bhartṛ* (master) of Vasurāka who set up the *yaṣṭi* may have been a commoner.

If the record is interpreted in this manner, it gives a consistent meaning free from all objections[8]. The correct translation of the present epigraph will, therefore, be as follows :—

" Success! In the year two hundred increased by three (*i. e.* in 203) of the king and *Mahākṣatrapa* Bhartṛdāman, who is a descendant of the King and *Mahākṣatrapa* Caṣṭana, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*, -(*this*) memorial stone (*yaṣṭi*) and also a dwelling have been erected by the Ābhīra Vasurāka of the Harihovaka *gotra*, who is a son of Vapa, grandson of Śvasana and daugher's son of Guśana, in memory of his master Rājyeśvara."

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[15] Read *Bhartur-yaṣṭiḥ prasthāpitā.*

[16] About sixteen *akṣaras* are illegible here.

[17] Rapson gives *Śaka* 201 to 217 as the period of his reign.

[18] There are some other similar instances of confusion caused by the mistakes of writer and engravers. See e.g. *kuṣāṇa-mūla* in Uṣāvadāta's Nāsik Cave inscription, *EI*, VIII, p. 82 ff. See also the confusion caused by the writer's mistake in the Banavāsi inscription of Viṇhukaḍ Sātakarṇi : Year 12. Archaeological Studies, (Mysore University) Vol. II, p. 49 f.

A NOTE ON THE DIFFERENCES OF ACHAEMENID ART FROM MAURYA ART

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY, Varanasi (U. P.)

It has been generally held by scholars that Maurya art was very similar to Achaemenid art.[1] Dr. Smith has gone so far to say that the excavations at Kumrahar show that Maurya buildings were built in imitation of the Persepolitan buildings of the Achaemenian monarchs[2]. But it has been also held that Aśokan art had its own distinct character and it was superior to Achaemenid art[3].

About the palace of Candragupta Maurya it has been observed that its description as a palace in an extensive park with tank and gardens attached to it, makes one believe that it was very much like the Achaemenid palace of Persepolis.[4]

But even a superficial study of the art of Achaemenid Iran and that of Maurya India will lead to facts which in many respects go against the theory that Achaemenid art and Maurya art were of similar nature. According to the Greek sources, the palace of Candragupta Maurya was made of wood. But in the Achaemenid palaces of Pasargadae as well as of Babylon, Susa and Persepolis, bricks and stones were used. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae was built of hard limestone[5]. Regarding the palace of Persepolis it has been observed that 'the royal buildings stood upon a great artificial platform, of which the retaining wall, like the buildings themselves, was constructed of marble-like limestone.'[6]

According to an author the gilded pillars of Pāṭaliputra with golden vines and silver birds are comparable with the gilded Cyprus and Cedar pillars of Susa and Ecbatana[7]. But it is to be noted that these pillars were not adorned with golden vines and silver birds as it was in the case of Candragupta's palace. And in the *Mahābhārata*, in the description of the audience hall of Yudhiṣṭhira (*Sabhā Parvan, Mahābhārata*), we find that the *Sabhā* was beautified by creepers of silver and birds of gold. So the practice of adorning the audience hall with the designs of creepers and birds was definitely Indian, since it is found in the description of Candragupta's palace and also in the Description of the royal audience hall in the *Mahābhārata* and it is absent in Achaemenid art. So here we find another point of difference between these two classes of art. Further, we find the use of glazed bricks with winged bulls (Encyclopedie photographique, Vol. XII, Pl. 54) at Susa. In the portions of the friezes, now in the Louvre, from the palace of Darius at Susa, we find procession of guards and animals represented in relief and built up of gaily coloured enamelled bricks[8]. Again among these friezes, we find the so called frieze of the 'Immortals' clad in yellow boots and long coats, bright with patterns of white, black, yellow and brown. The background is blue. In the same friezes we find lions which stand out from a blue background and are coloured yellow and green with dashes of blue and green. In Maurya art we nowhere find such display of colours, nor we find anywhere glazed bricks.

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[1] Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 177; Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 39-48; Gajjar, I. N., *Ancient Indian Art and the West*, p. 79.

[2] Smith, V. A., *Oxford History of India*, p. 77.

[3] Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 68-69.

[4] Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 38

[5] Olmstead, A. T., *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 162-63, 178-84.

[6] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates, I, pp. 318-19.

[7] Gajjar, I. N., *Ancient Indian Art and the West*, p. 79.

The 'Apadana' or the hall of pillars of Persepolis bears resemblance to the hall of pillars of Aśokan palace. But this plan of building hall of pillars was borrowed by the Achaemenid emperor Darius from Nebuchadnezzar's palace at Babylon.[9] It is possible that the idea had come to India from Babylon long before Darius built his palaces. It is also possible that the practice of building hall of pillars was of Indian origin and that Babylonia took idea from India and Iran copied it from Babylonia. At least there is no proof that the hall of pillars was first built by Aśoka in India and so it might be a copy of the Achaemenid palaces of Iran. It is quite possible that the gilded pillars of Chandragupta's palace were pillars of a hall of his predecessors, the Nandas. With their fabulous wealth and huge army, the Nanda rulers definitely had a gorgeous palace of their own, which, it is possible, was afterwards occupied by Candragupta Maurya. It is also very significant that Darius invited architects from countries including Sind and Gāndhāra when he built his palaces at Susa and Persepolis. This fact finds mention in the foundation charter of the palace at Susa[10]. So it is clear that an old art tradition existed in India and that the architecture of Achaemenid Iran was a production of architects including those from India.

It is, however, to be noted that apart from the hall of pillars of Aśokan palace and the figures of animals adorning the pillars bearing Aśokan edicts, we do not find any other point of similarity between Maurya and Achaemenid art. It is also to be noticed that in the Aśokan audience hall the number of pillars was eighty[11], whereas the Achaemenid pillared hall, that is, the Apadana of Persepolis consisted of hundred pillars.

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[8] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV, p. 203; Vol. II, p. 430.

[9] Olmstead, A. T., *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 162.

[10] Agrawala, V. S., *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 71.

[11] Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 39.

Further, we find certain aspects af Achaemenid art, which make it very different from Maurya art at least in spirit and effect. In Achaemenid art we find special emphasis on human figures. The wall reliefs of Persepolis show us nobles marching up the stairs, attendants carrying food up small stairway, the tribute bearers belonging to different nationalities like Indians, Bactrians, Śakas, Armenians, etc., and above all the "Ten Thousand Persian Immortals" carved out of the walls of the Apadana.

These wall reliefs present before us the Achaemenid Iran; we feel the throbbing of life of that ancient empire. We see the nobles of the age; we see how they dressed and looked; we see how the attendants dressed and behaved; we see the gorgeous array of the Ten Thousand 'whose number never decreased'. We see the representatives of different nations of that ancient world, the particular national dress of each of them, their special pet animals accompanying them. We find Bactrian tribute bearers along with a camel. They are bearded and their hair is hanging upto the shoulders and they are wearing flat skull caps. We find Śakas with a horse. They are wearing long pointed caps which cover their ears too. We find Kashshites in somewhat loose dresses accompanied with a big lion and three of them carrying lion cubs as tributes. Amog these tribute bearers we find Indians. The picture is very useful as we get correct idea about the dress and ways of Indians of those days. The leader of the party is wearing a 'dhoti' and a showl covers the upper part of his body. He is wearing a cap which is just like the cap that Kashmiris wear now a days. The person behind him is dressed like a Buddhist monk. The third man in the scene is the tribute bearer. He is wearing a short loin cloth which hangs upto his knees. The upperpart of his body and his legs are bare. He is carrying the tribute in the typical Indian way. From a stick placed on his shoulders which he holds with both of his hands, the loops fastened to the ropes of the sticks, contain tributes in post which look like round earthen pots or wooden pots, the like of which are still made in India. The fourth or last man seems to be a guard. The 'Ten Thousand Immortals' on the wall along the staircase leading to 'Apadana' of Persepolis look remarkably alive and they gorgeously display the majesty and military strength of the Achaemenid rulers.[12]

If we turn to the remains of the Maurya palace, we do not find anywhere such figures giving us ideas about the courtiers, nobles, attendants, soldiers, peoples of different parts of the Maurya empire which extended from the borders of Persia to Mysore and in which lived peoples who were as different in dress, looks and habits from each other as they are now in modern India. The Maurya court art does not give a single human figure which could help us to know how the people of India looked and dressed in those days.

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[12] Olmstead, A. T., *History of the Persian Empire*, Plates XXXII, XXXI, XXXIII, pp. 228, 293.

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In Behistun Relief we find king Darius with his left foot placed on the prostrate form of the rebel Gaumata, raising his right hand in adoration towards the symbol of Ahura Mazda, who appears as a winged disc with anthropomorphic head resembling the Assyrian Ashur. Beneath the divine symbol is a procession of captives roped together by their necks. A pair of attendants carrying the royal spear and bow is behind the king[13]. In none of the inscriptions of Aśoka we find any such scene. The author of the inscriptions, the king Priyadarśī, beloved of the gods, has not cared to get his personal name or his face or figure carved on the rocks and pillars bearing his royal proclamations. His personal name appears only in a couple of minor edicts. If he had imitated the Achaemenids, more in details, the posterity would have been immensely benefited, at least to know how looked this king, who is considered to be the greatest ruler of all ages.

In Persepolitan art we find the relief in which king Darius is sitting on his throne with four attendants, and crown prince Xerxes is standing before him. A sentry stands behind the prince. It is a living court scene. Every minute detail is clear[14]. The Maurya art does not give us any such court scene. We do not know how Candragupta or Bindusāra looked or how they dressed or how they held their imperial durbar[15]. A sculptural representation at Persepolis shows the king slaying an evil genius[16]. But such a representation, it is needless to say, is nil in Maurya art. The 'Apadana' wall reliefs also present before us the Achaemenid monarchs' chariots, horses, footstools with attendant nobles.[17] The scene of royal hunt in the seal of Darius I in British Museum (Museum No. 89132)[18] is another feature of Achaemenid art which is reminiscent of Assyrian art and this also is lacking in Maurya art.

The fluted columns[19] of Achaemenid art again present a contrast to Aśokan pillars which are never and nowhere fluted. At the very entrance of Persepolis (Gateway to All Lands) we find by the side of the human headed bulls, fluted columns. The Plates LVII of Hertfeld's "Iran in the Ancient East" have been pointed out as bearing similarity to Aśokan pillars[20]. But that these compniform base and campniform capital of Persepolis look much different from Aśokan pillars, is clear even to a superficial observer.

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[13] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV, pp. 204-212; Ibid., Vol. of Plates I, pp 312-313, pl. a.

[14] Olmstead, A T., *History of the Persian Empire*, Pl, XXX

[15] Olmstead, A. T., op. cit.

[16] Benjamin, S.G.W., *Story of Persia*, p 19.

[17] Olmstead, A T, op. cit., Plate XXXVIII.

[18] Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. of Plate I, pp 324-325.

[19] Olmstead, A. T., op. cit., Xerxes Harem Palace, Plates XL, p. 292; *Cambrid Ancient History*, Vol. of Plates I, pp. 320-321; Benjamin, *The Story of Persia*, p. 100-

[20] Gajjar, Irene N., *Ancient Indian Art and the West*, p. 89.

The remains of Achaemenid art give us a living and lively presentation of the life of the age, its rulers, court, army, subjects, subject nations. The emphasis on human figures is so much that we find winged human headed bulls, at the eastern gate of the palace of Persepolis.[21] A bull with lovely strings of beads adorning its head[22] found at the hundred columned hall, again presents a contrast to the Aśokan animals who are nowhere ornamented.

The Archaemenid ruler Darius introduced a coinage.[23] There are gold and silver coins of imperial issue ranging in date from Darius I to Darius II, each of which bore invariably the portrait of the king, who is always armed with a bow and carried either a spear or a dagger or arrows.[24] If the Mauryan rulers were really very intimate with Achaemenid art and if they really copied Achaemenid art style, why did not they introduce a coinage after the pattern of the Achaemenid coinage? It is strange that India had to wait uptil the arrival of the Bactrian Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas to learn that the heads of the kings should be engraved on the coins which they issued.

To Achaemenid art also belong the drinking vessels and bowls with handles in which animal forms in characteristic poses are cleverly used. 'There are also gold and silver bowls ornamented with rosettes and lotus buds and flowers.[25] But no such vessel or bowl has been discovered at Pāṭaliputra. Though the Greeks tell us about the golden vases of the palace of Pāṭaliputra, we do not know how far they bore resemblance to Achaemenid vases in their artistic finish.

A vase of Darius gives us a beautiful presentation of human figures depicting Greek interest in Persia. But Maurya art pieces so far discovered, do not include any such vase with human figures which give clear picture of the dress, ornaments, weapons, seats, bowls, pet animals, etc. of the persons depicted on the vase as we find in the vase of Darius noted above[26].

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[21] Olmstead, A.T., op. cit., Plates XXVI, XL, pp. 230-293; The *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. of Plates I, pp. 318.

[22] Olmstead, A. T., op. cit, Plate XL, p. 293.

[23] Ibid., Pl , p.

[24] Wilber, Donald, N., *Iran; Past and Present*, p. 26.

[25] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[26] Furtwängler-Reichhold, Denkmäler, Pl. 88; Olmstead, A.T., op. cit., Pl. LXII.

ON SOVEREIGNTY OF RĀJĀ MANSİNGH TOMAR OF GWALIOR

(A.D. 1486-1516)

By

R. NATH, Lashkar (Gwalior)

Taking advantage of the political weakness of the later Tughluqs, the Tomars under Virsinghdeva[1] obtained possession of the Gwalior fort in 1394 A.D. This is confirmed by Persian chronicles as well as by the inscription dated in V. S. 1451/1394 A.D. which was found carved on the bed of the rock-cut *Gangola-Tal* in the fort.[2] Virsingh shed all reverence to the Delhi Sultan and established a dynasty of his own with as much regal splendour as he could then profess, e. g.

> तोमरवंशमुद्योतसरोजं भास्करो यथा ।
> वीरसिंघ भूपाल गजाधिप-महेश्वरः…… ..
> गजवाजिनराधिपः … … विद्यत्ते
> सफला मही…[3]

Invasion of Timur (Tamerlane) completed the process of disintegration of the Tughluq empire and relieved the Tomars of any fear or anxiety from the Delhi Sultan. During the rule of the Sayyids who were too weak to recover the lost territories, the Tomars enjoyed undisturbed peace and consolidated their hold on the region. They remained independent, collected the taxes, dispensed justice, maintained law and order, exacted obedience of the people and administered the country by themselves. Probably they were duly coronated and there is nothing to refute that they enjoyed the usual paraphernalia of *chatra* and *canwar*. It is strange, however, that no Tomar coin has yet come to light, even at Gwalior, and the total absence of their coinage creates many serious doubts as regards their sovereign status. What prevented them from minting their own coins ?

The accession of Bahlol Lodi on the throne of Delhi in 1451 A.D. opens an era of the Delhi-Gwalior conflict which continued till 1518 when the Fort ultimately was capitulated. During this period of 67 years, the Delhi Sultan treated the Tomar Rājā as a defiant and rebellious feudatory and a usurper, while the latter with an impregnable fort under his possession and adequate resources at his disposal, defied the former and consistently preserved his independence. The Persian chronicles mention that Rājā Kiratsingh submitted to Bahlol Lodi[4] but the Fort was not surrendered to him and it seems more to be a formal deal rather than actual acceptance of the feudatory status. Of course, Bahlol was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Sharqis of Jaunpur and if he ever tried to humble the Tomar Rājā, it was more to prevent him from allying with Jaunpur than to force him to acknowledge his suzerainty.

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[1] Diacriticals have not been used with popular names.

[2] Katare, S. L., ' Two Gangola-Tal Gwalior Inscriptions of the Tomara Kings of Gwalior ' *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXIII No. 4 (June 1974) pp. 350-51. About 20 Tomar epigraphs were found carved on the bed of this tank. It is a pity that they were not preserved, the tank was again filled in and these precious inscriptions were lost to us for ever !

[3] *Ibid*, p. 351.

The status of the Tomar Rājā at this stage has been variously recorded. Thus the Jain epigraph on one of the statues around the fort gives the ruling *Rājā* the high sounding title of '*Mahārājādhirāja*' in A.D. 1453 :

> " सिद्धि संवत् १५१० वर्षे माघ सुदि ८
> अष्टम्यां श्री गोपगिरौ महाराजाधिराज राजा
> श्री डांगरेन्द्र देव राज्य.........."[5]

In another Jain epigraph now at Alwar he has, however, been designated in the same year only as '*Rājādhirāja*' :

> " सिद्धि ॥ संवत् १५१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ वदि ११ दिने
> शुक्रवासरे श्रीगोपाचलनगरे राजाधिराज
> श्री मूं (डूं) गरसिंह देवराज्ये ......"[6].

Finally, on the left jamb of the *Bhairon-Paur* there is a short inscription which reads :

> " राजा डोंगरसींग गोपाचलदुर्ग
> ... ... १५१५ "[7].

His status has not, thus, been well defined and it leaves us much to conjecture. Dongarsingh issued no coins and granted no lands ; that he ever conquered some territories by his prowess or performed any *yajña* commensurate to his title '*Mahārājādhirāja*' has not been recorded.

Dongarsingh was succeeded by Kirttisingh and the latter by Kalyanmal. Rājā Mansingh acceeded to the throne of Gwalior on the death of his father Rājā Kalyanmal in 1486 A.D. No record is, however, available to show that a *Rājyābhiṣeka* ceremony was performed every time an accession took place. This should have been commemorated with the pomp and show befitting the title '*Mahārājādhirāja*' and records should have been left in eulogical poems, architectural epigraphs and coins, but none has so far come to light to bea witness to one of the most important performances of a sovereign ruler i accordance with the *Hindu* polity. We know from Shivaji's example whos coronation was celebrated with great pomp and show at Rajgadh in 1674 A.D. that *Rājyābhiṣeka* or the installation ceremony was deemed to be an inevitabl necessary ritual for an independent and sovereign *Hindu* ruler even in th medieval times. A *Hindu* sovereign should be a duly crowned king of his peopl and his authority should be consecrated by the solemn sanction of the *Hind* religion by going through the elaborate ritual prescribed by the *Śāstras*, ove and above the insignia of Royalty, i.e. the visible symbols of regal and pomp an power, viz. the throne, the grand umbrella of State (*chatra*), the *morchal* (canwar), the *jarī-paṭkā* (grand ensign of cloth of gold), the *dhvaja* and th gigantic drum. His coinage would be the lasting memorial of his sovereignt No record of coronation of any Tomar Rājā is available and this, added by th complete absence of their coinage, leaves us groping in the dark as to thei sovereign status.

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[4] Nizamuddin Ahmad, E. G., *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (tr. B. De) (Calcuptta, 1973) p. 351.

[5] Nahar, Purnachand, *Jain Shilalekha*, Part-II (1927) p. 93 Srl. No. 1428.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 44, Srl No. 1232.

[7] Being equivalent to A.D. 1458. Cunningham read the date as 1542 (= 1485 A.D.) Cf. *A.S.I.* Reports for the years 1862-65, Vol. II, p. 334 but this is apparently a mistake.

The thirty years' reign of Rājā Mansingh (1486-1516 A.D.) is a period o great cultural activity at Gwalior in the face of constant threat from the Delh Sultan. Sikandar Lodi was particularly sore of the independence of the Tomar and immediately after his accession to the throne of the Delhi Sultanate, he mad preparations to reduce Gwalior. Rājā Mansingh was a realist and refused to b led by sentiment. Though he made preparations of war and strengthened th defences of the Fort, he showed friendly gestures to the Sultan when he advance upon Gwalior. The latter too was aware of the strength of the Fort and fe contented when the Rājā accepted the robe of honour which the Sultan had sen for him, in token of his submission and acceptance of the Delhi suzerainty.[9] A it seems likely, some tribute was also paid, as price of the peace.

It did not last long. We hear through Persian sources[10] that Delhi-Gwalio relations were again strained about 1500 A.D. Sikandar Lodi transferred hi headquarters to Agra to be within the striking distance of Gwalior which he wa now determined to conquer. He advanced and besieged the fort. The Tom country was ravaged. The Rājā withstood the onslaught successfully though, a political measure, he did not like the war to be prolonged and bring destru tion upon his country and thus put end to the various cultural projects he had

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8. Keluskar and Takakhav, *The Life of Shivaji Maharaj* (Bombay, 1921) pp, 348-6 G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas* Vol. I, pp. 207-21,

9. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *op. cit.* p. 358. This happened in 1489 A.D. He menti that the *Rājā* even sent his nephew to attend on the Sultan.

10, E. g. *Ibid*, pp. 369-73 ; Ferishta, *Rise of the Mohomedan Power in India* (tr. Briggs) (Calcutta, 1966) Vol. I, pp. 337-38.

mind. While his people harassed the enemy on all sides, he offered to submit.[11] Peace was again purchased. Tired and reduced to extremities, Sikandar Lodi returned to Agra apparently satisfied with formal recognition of his overlordship and probably some money. Obviously, this alliance was made under compulsion on either side and was more formal in its implications than real.

Sikandar Lodi besieged the Fort again in A.H. 910/1504 A.D. but he could not take it. A full-fledged war was fought between Sikandar Lodi and the Rājā the next year in 911/1505[12] but this too proved inconclusive. Though the Persian chronicles claim that the Rajputs were defeated, the fort could not be reduced. The Rājā with stood the siege and the Sultan, as ever, had to return disappointed.

Mansingh died in 1516 and was succeeded by Vikramāditya. Sikandar also died the following year and Ibrahim Lodi managed to ascend the throne of Delhi. Soon thereafter, he made up his mind to wage a decisive war with Gwalior and made necessary preparations. Persian chronicles describe the event at length and also confirm, by the way, that all previous attempts of Sikander Lodi to take the fort had been futile. Thus notes Nizamuddin : "At this time it entered the mind of the Sultan (Ibrahim) that as Sultan Sikandar had always intended to conquer Gwalior, and the remaining fortresses and cities of those districts, and *repeatedly led his armies, but had never succeeded in gaining his object*, if good fortune guided him and victory led him, he might with kinglike determination conquer Gwalior and all the territories appertaining to it........ It so happened that at this time Rājā Man, the ruler of Gwalior, who had been distinguished above all his peers and neighbours for bravery and liberality, and *had contended for years with the Sultans of Delhi* had died and his son Bikramajit having succeeded him had made exertions in strengthening the fortress[13]." The fort was ultimately conquered. This happened in 924/1518. These chronicles thus confirm that Rājā Mansingh was the de facto ruler of Gwalior and he remained independent throughout his career. But they do not help us to establish his title to sovereignty.

The literary sources are meagre and deficient and they also do not provide any useful material as to this question. Manik wrote his *Vaital-Pachchisi* circa V.S. 1546/1489 A.D. and noted :

गढ़ ग्वालीयर थानु अति भलौ
मानुसिंघ तौंवरु जा बलौ ॥[14]

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[11] Nizamuddin, I, 371 ; Ferishta, I. 338,

[12] Nizamuddin, I. 371-74 ; Ferishta, I. 338-39.

[13] Nizamuddin, I. 401-2 ; Ferishta, (I. 342) confirms that Sikandar Lodi in 923/1517 summoned all the distant nobles to Agra with a determination to reduce Gwalior, but he died in the midst of preparations, and *Ibid*, I. 347-48.

[14] Dwivedi, H. N., *Madhya Deshiya Bhasha—Gwaliari*, (Gwalior 1956) p. 181.

Theghanath in his *Bhagwatgitabhāṣā* composed around V.S. 1557/1500 A.D. mentioned the *Rājā* in greater details :

पन्द्रहसै सत्तावनि आनु ।
गढ्ढ गोपाचल उत्तम ठानु ॥
मानसाहि तिह दुर्ग निरिंदु ।
जनु अमरावती सोहैं इंदु ॥
... .
ताकैं राजधर्म की जीत ।
चले लोक कुत मारग रीत ॥
सबही राजनि माहि अति भलै ।
तोवर सत्य सील ज्यावलै ॥[15]

These eulogical contents, however, are of no use to us in the present context.

Reference may also be made here to the bardic series of *Gwalior-Nāmās*. There are at least six of them headed by Khadgarai's *Gopācala-Ākhyāna* which was written during the reign of Shah Jehan (17th century A.D.). Its Datia copy dated in V.S. 1853/1796 A.D. is entitled *Gwalior-Nāmā*. The complete ms. bears a still later date *e.g.* V.S. 1948/1891 A.D. Fazl Ali's *Qulliyat-i-Gwaliari*, called *Gwaliar-Nāmā*, was also written during the reign of Shah Jehan. He claims to have based it on *Tārīkh-i-nāmā* of Gwalior by one Ghanaśyāma Brāhmaṇa of Gwalior. Its English rendering was published in 1892 A.D. by Bhayasaheb Balwant Rao under the title '*History of the Fortress of Gwalior*'. One *Gwaliar-Nāmā* was copied from Khadgarai by Badilidas and was brought down to 1976 A.D. Another *Gwaliar-Nāmā* was written by Hiraman who was Munshi of Motamid Khan during Aurangzib's reign. Two other *Gwaliar-Nāmās* are also popular, one by Motiram and Khushal, and the other by Khan-Jehan and Shaikh Jalal Hisar. Each one of these, however, besides being a much later work, is a eulogical narrative in spirit as well as in content and is not at all reliable for constructing either the history of the Tomar Architecture or the Tomar Polity.

Some valuable inscriptions of the reign of Mansingh may be examined in this connection. Four consecration epigraphs on Jain images in the Pañcayati Jain Temple at Sarafa Bazar bear dates V.S. 1549/1492 A.D., 1563/1506, 1567/1510 and 1572/1515[16] which fall within the reign of Rājā Mansingh but there is no mention of the ruling prince in the inscriptions themselves. Likewise the four inscriptions on images in Pārśvanātha Jain Temple dated 1554/1497, 1557/

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[15] *Ibid*, p. 185.

[16] Nahar, *op. cit*. Part—II, p. 76 Srl. Nos. 1383 to 1386.

1500, 1559/1502 and 1567/1510[17] do not mention the ruler. But one Jain inscription on the Fort itself speaks of Rājā Mansingh as *Mahārājādhirāja* in 1552/1495, e.g. :

श्रीमऊ गोपाचलगढ़ दुर्गे ॥ महाराजाधिराज
श्रीमल्ल (मान) सिंह देवराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने
संवत १५५२ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुदि.........[18]

There are several inscriptions on the pillar, i.e. *dhvajastambha*, which faces the so-called larger *Sas-Bahu* temple in the Fort. Most of them are on the square portion of its shaft. A few are unintelligible, e.g. :

फमाकैंसनवनृधीचूनुगनुवनाङफ

and सनवनगीवनजीसाकैं

One, however, bears the date V.S. 1545/1488 A.D. and reads :

सिद्धि संवतु १५४५ वष्वो
फाल्गुन वदि २...लिषिते पेगोमनु ।...
लिष... त ... ...[19]

It seems that these epigraphs record some restoration work which was done under the *Rājā*. This is confirmed by another inscription dated V.S. 1553/1496 A.D. engraved, along with several motifs, *yantras* and diagrams, on the single pavement slab on the western upper storey of the *Sas-bahu* temple, reading :

सतोषाला–रा–मान–श्रान्तिकेत्रमहीपाल्प्रयतु–१५५३ पौषे–मषि सुदि २ गुरु......

This suggests, with a large measure of certainty, that this temple along with its *dhvaja-stambha*, was restored by Rājā Mansingh and again put into worship.

As the *Rājā* was constantly threatened by the Delhi Sultan, he repaired his fortifications too, and specifically he built two gates anew and strengthened the defence positions at these two vital points, viz the *Dhondhā Paur* on the N-W and the *Urwahi-Paur* on the S-W of the Fort. There is a Sanskrit-Hindi inscription in *Nāgarī* script in 9 lines in the niche on the *Dhondha-Paur* which reads as follows :—

सिधि (सिद्ध) संवतु १५५२ वर्षे असुनिशुर
महाराजाधिराज राजा श्री मान ॥
सांघ (सिंह) देवधिरराजे साटोवर ॥
ढोढादेव मूर्त्तिकारापितं ॥
लि॰ साजल्ह सूत्रयारि (सूत्रधारि) महमे ॥

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[17] *Ibid*, *p*. 82, Srl Nos. 1412–1415

[18] *Ibid*., p. 93, Srl No. 1429.

[19] These and the following inscriptions have not been published so far.

गढंत धरमनन्दु ॥ नाथु हुवदास
ढोढा की पौरि राजा
मानसाहि नइ। (ई) कराई। (ई)
प्रकरीण्ड ॥

It records that *Mahārājādhirāja* Rājā Mansingh reconstructed the *Dhondha-Paur* and also that the image of *Dhondha Deva* was consecrated there (in the niche), in 1552/1495. The inner pavilion of the *Urwahi-Paur*, likewise, has a Sanskrit-Hindi inscription of 18 lines in *Nāgarī*, also recording the renovation of the *Urwahi-Paur* in 1553/1496 and this too refers to the *Rājā* as ' *Mahārājādhirāja Rājā* Sri Mansingh Deva '[20] e.g. :—

॥ श्री ॥

॥ श्री लङसु प्रीतमान
॥ सिघ (सिंह) श्री इष्टदेवताप्रशादात् ॥
॥ महाराजाधिराज राजा श्री
॥ मान सांघ (सिंह) देव चिरंजीवी
तस्य अ (आ) ज्ञाकारी साटो
॥ वर उरवाइ। (ई) की पौरि
बई (बड़ी) करवाइ। (ई) ॥ लि०
साजलू मागेंवारी ॥ तस्मा
म (त) सारारा ॥ सटिहा ढोढ़ा
सूत्रधारि महेलु ॥ गढ़ंत
सींघ वर्मा वंद ॥ सुलम
॥ सू ॥ १ संवत १५५३
वर्षे आसाढ़ सुदि १३
गुरुवासरे ॥ अनु
ना हा नु ह न
१ षेऊ सुत्रधारि ॥
ग्वालिरी हिकमिति ॥

Thus, though no *Praśasti* of the Tomar Rājā is available, he has generally been designated as *Mahārājādhirāja* which is the title usually borne by a *Hindu* ruler who is sovereign over and above his independent status. All his *Nāgarī* inscriptions in the Fort adhere to this spirit. But this is not a conclusive evidence.

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[20] The latter inscription of the *Urwahi-Paur* was traced by Mr Upadhyaya, Librarian of the Sindhia School at the Fort. The former of the *Dhondha-Paur* was traced by the author himself on clues provided by Cunningham. Both have not been published so far. Cunningham also mentioned two other inscriptions at the *Dhondha-Paur* the one dated 1505/1448 and the other on one of the towers of the lower outwork, obviously added by Rājā Mansingh, dated 1562/1505 (Cf. *Op. cit.* II. 338). But both these inscriptions have not been traced.

It is unfortunate that the inscription engraved on the west wall of the *Man-Sarovar* tank built by Rājā Mansingh has almost completely decayed and is not readable and his inscriptions carved on the bed of the *Gangola-Tal* were not preserved and again went under 30 feet of water probably never to be seen again. The *Man-Māndir*, the greatest and the most magnificent building of the *Rājā*, bears no inscription. Curiously, the frieze of the south, and now the main, entrance of the *Gujari Mahal* bears an Arabic-Persian inscription in green-turquoise-yellow glazed-tiles. It is in two lines. It opens with *Bismillah-ir-Rehman-ir-Rahim* which is followed by *Al-Mulko-lillah Malik-ul-Mulq Zul-Jalal* (The country belongs to God who is the supreme ruler of the Universe).[21] The second line reads : "Een dua madad-een ke Rājā Mansingh bin Rājā Kalyanmal".[22] (This palace built by the blessings of Raja Mansingh son of Rājā Kalyanmal).

This is as mysterious an epigraph as it is important. Foremostly it raises the question : who had it inscribed ? If it was done by the order of the *Rājā*, it should have been in *Nāgarī* script in Sanskrit-Hindi language like his all other inscriptions. This is the sole example of an Arabic-Persian epigraph bearing the name of the *Rājā* and his predecessor. If it was done at a later date by some Muslim governor of the Fort, the text could not have been what it is. As other Muslim inscriptions, which are extant in the Fort, testify it would have recorded the date in Hijri era, name of the ruling Pathan or Mughal Emperor and the specific purpose of the epigraph, being in this case either to record the construction or conversion of the mansion. It does not appeal to historical logic that a Muslim governor from A.D. 1518 to 1707 would not mention the name of his overlord and would, instead, record the construction of the palace by the piety of a *Hindu Rājā*. The inscription could not have been done latter than 1707 A.D. by any stretch of imagination.

The epigraph is glazed-tiled in stone in Inlaid and mosaic technique. It is embedded in the structural stones and is not overlaid like painting or fixed on a single slab of stone. Such green-turquoise-yellow glazed-tile ornamentation has been done in other parts of the *Gujari-Mahal* and on a much larger scale at the *Man-Mandir*. The latter's eastern and southern facades have beautiful glazed-tiling work intermixed excellently with stone carving and trellis. This is a pleasant admixture of effects of the Muslim colour with the *Hindu* relief. As it appears the only solution, the Arabic-Persian inscription of the *Gujari-Mahal* was also done under orders of Rājā Mansingh by his glazed-tiler who was obviously a Muslim artisan from Punjab or Sindh, or possibly from Iran from where artisans were constantly summoned by the Bahmanis at Bidar and the Khaljis at Mandu almost contemporarily.

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[21] It is almost identical to the Quranic dictum, Sura-LXVII Verse-1 : " Blessed be He in whose hands is dominion and He over all things hath Power. '

[22] The inscription reads as follows :

ایں دعاء مددیں کہ راجا مان سنگہ بن راجا کلیانمل -

This short but extremely important inscription has also not been published.

The *Gujari-Mahal* stands at the foot of the Fort even below the Badalgarh outwork almost outside its protection. It was vulnerably exposed to attacks and, in fact, it was impossible to hold it against a regular and prolonged siege. Why the *Rājā* chose to build a beautiful palace at this strategically weak point when he had more than ample spacc on the Fort itself is a different aspect of this study. May be, his Rajput queens did not like to live with the Gujari damsel who was newly wedded to the *Rājā*, and a separate, distant, quarter had to be given to her. It is also possible that the *Rājā* built it for use in peace times when he could hold here councils, assemblies and probably public durbars. The 15th century Gwalior flourished around this gateway on the northern side of the Fort. Without doubt, the *Rājā* was fully conscious of the military weakness of the palace, and if he built it here it could be more for public liaison than defence.

The phrase '*Al-Mulko-lillah Malik-ul-Mulq Zul-Jalal*' is very significant. It is in accordance with Islamic polity that ultimate sovereignty is vested in God Himself. Coins and inscriptions of the Delhi Sultan bear such dicta. One of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's coins, for example, reads on the observe side : " Dominion and greatness belong to God alone. "[23] The Khalifa, or in his place the Sultan, is sovereign only because he is Regent of God on earth, i.e. he is a Shadow of God (Sultan-al-Zille-Allah). Sovereignty is vested in him as a Divine right. The *Hindus* also believed in the theory of divine kingship, King being the representative of God on earth. There was, thus, nothing in the text which could have prevented its inscription on the palace.

The second line obviously records, most probably contemporarily, the construction of the Palace at the expense of Rājā Mansingh. He bears the title '*Rājā*'. Truly, the high sounding titles which were the usual epithets of the Sultan of Delhi could not have been used in the present case. But, the title '*Rājā*' is not sufficient, even on the strength of this epigraph, to show that he was sovereign. Feudatory *Hindu* rulers were usually designated as '*Rājā*' and 'Rai' by the Delhi suzerain. This inscription does not claim any sovereignty for Rājā Mansingh, who could also have been styled as such in case he would be a feudatory of the Lodis.

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[23] العلكم والعظمة لك

. Cf. Thomas, E. *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, (Lordon, 1871), p. 216, Srl. No. 193.

Thus, there is nothing to show that Rājā Mansingh was duly coronated in accordance with the Śāstric rites. He issued no coins and, as it is likely, the coinage of the Delhi Sultan, probably the popular 'Bahloli', was in currency at Gwalior. He might have used the regal insignia of *chatra*, *canvar*, *dhvaja* and *paṭkā* but he never professed his sovereignty in his inscriptions in which he is designated '*Mahārājādhirāja*' at his best. Such inscriptions are also limited to the Fort and not even a single one is found outside of it. There was a constant struggle between the *Rājā* and the Delhi Sultan, the former maintaining his independence in effect and without any doubt, and the latter trying to impose his sovereignty upon the *Rājā* over and over again, though in vain. The conflict was less of a territory and more of a title which neither the former seems to have acquired nor the latter appears to have allowed the former to assume.

UNJHA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA AJAYAPALADEVA, VIKRAMA 1231

By

RAM SHARMA, Chandigarh

The findspot of the inscription under reference is the temple of Kālēśvara Mahādēva at Unjhā, former Baroda State, now Siddhapur Tahsil, Mehsana District, Gujarat. It is included by D. R. Bhandarkar[1] in his list. but without giving any details about its contents. The record is full of lexicographical interest which remained escaping the notice of the researchers[2] as yet, though it is one out of the only three so far known records[3] of the time of the ruler in question. An effort is made to throw some light on its contents here.[4]

The inscription consists of three lines of writing which occupies a space measuring 107 cm × 11 cm. As regards palaeography, there are a few noteworthy features. The form of *ā* in *āḍavāḍī* (line 3) represents a stage when both the modern Nāgarī forms of this letter started developing. A simple form of this letter can be seen in *āchaṁdrārkaṁ* (line 3). There is very little difference in the forms of *ch* and *v*, cf. *ch* in *āchaṁdrārkaṁ* and *v* in *Yāvat* (both in line 3). The right vertical of the letter *t* in *samasta* (line 2) is written with an additional tail.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit'which is grammatically chaste. A worng use of *gh* for *h* and *Kumara* for *Kumāra* in the name *Kumarasiṁghēna* (line 2) apparently as a result of the influence of the local dialect, is noteworthy.

The inscription is dated Vikrama 1231, Chaitra ba. 11, Thursday, which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1175, March 20, according to Southern (i.e. Kārttikādi) Vikrama. The month was *adhika* Chaitra.

The inscription commences with a symbol for *siddham* followed by the auspicious expression of *svasti*. Then, the date as noted above, is recorded. It is stated thereafter that the king Ajayapāladēva was ruling from Aṇahilapāṭaka along with his feudatories. The object of the inscription is stated afterwards, which is to record the donation of the *talārābhāvya* (i.e. the income of the *Talāra*), obtained by means of the taxes called *dyūta-satka-āḍavāḍi-dāvakā* etc., being discussed below, for *Paṁchōpachāra-pūjā* (i e., worshipping the deity with five oblations (in the form of scent, flowers, incense, lamp and offerings[5]) offered at times during day and night to the god Śiva known as Kālasvāmidēva at the village Uṁjhā by *Rāja* (i.e., *Rājaputra*[6]) Kumarasiṁgha, son of *para* (i.e., his excellency), *Rāja* (i.e. *Rājaputra*) Vallāla, during the *pratipatti* (i.e., administration [7]) of the *daṁḍa* (i.e., *Daṁḍanāyaka*, a provincial governor [8] the illustrious Tāta. [9]

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[1] *Cf.* Bhandarkar's List, No. 363.

[2] See *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 40, and other references.

[3] For his two other records, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 82 ff. and pp 347 ff.

[4] It has been reported in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1961-62, as No. C. 1396, where it has been stated that this " Records the grant of some villages such as Āḍavā to the god Kālasvāmi by Kumarasiṁgha ", but this does not appear to be the case.

The explanations for the term *Talārābhāvya* as "the revenue of Talārā" or "the income of revenue from tolls[10]" or "the pāghaḍī[11] money" given to Kōtwāla may be partially correct, but do not give its full meaning. In the present case, it becomes clear that *Talārābhāvya* in itself is not an independent tax but the income from several taxes. The word *ābhāvya* is used here in its usual sense of income or proceeds.[12] In old Gujarati *talāra* means a *Kōṭawāla*[13], but the designations do not appear to be identical. Though the functions of both may be more or less identical, yet the spheres of their influence seem to be altogether different. The difference in the meanings of these two designations, was however, noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar[14] in saying that "A *talāra* would thus to be the suburbs what a *kōtwāl* is to a city", which, it seems, requires little modification. The word *Kōṭawāla* appears to be direct derivative of *Kōṭapāla* i.e., the guardian of a fort, while *tala* seems to refer to the unfortified land. Thus, without entering into the details of town-planning in ancient India, we may possibly say that while *Kōṭapāla* or *Kōṭawāla* was in charge of forts and fortified places, *Talāra* (i.e. *Talāraksha*) was to look after the administration of unfortified ones. But in course of time due to their functional identity these terms probably got to be considered as identical[15] and became so popular that even their assistants were also called by these designations[16]. In the present inscription it is also clear that *Talāra* was a subordinate official to *Daṁḍanāyaka*. Amongst other terms *dyūta* itself has been described as the king's dues collected by the superintendent of gambling.[17] Here it is clear that this tax was collected by the *Talāra*. The term *satka* explained in the sense of "the[18] holding of- " or 'belonging to——', will go with the word *dyūta*. However, as we have noted previously[19] also the word *satka* appears to be used in the sense of a general tax here probably levied on all the inhabitants of the place.[20] The term *āḍa* seems to be the same as Sanskrit *āḍhakam*[21] i.e., a certain measure of grains about one fourth of a *drōṇa*. Now, this *drōṇa* is equal to twenty seers. The word *Dhauṇa* for twenty seers is locally used in the state of Haryana and is apparently a direct derivative of *Drōṇa*. Thus *Āḍhaka* will mean five seers. It may mean in Gujarat also that five seers of each grain were to be given to *Talāra*. Then we have two totally new terms *vāḍī* and *dāvakā*. The word *vāḍī* has been explained[22] as 'often suffixed to geographical sense', but here it is used in an altogether different sense of a tax. The word seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit word *Vāṭikā* i.e., orchard. It is not unlikely that some sort of tax was levied on fruits and flowers[23] also payable to the *Talāra* either in the form of cash or quantity. Similarly the meaning of the word *dāvakā* is not clear, but it can certainly be taken as some tax payable to the *Talāra*. Probably it was a tax levied on forestry payable to the *Talāra* either in cash or quantity. There were some other taxes also which have not been named here but were included in *Talārābhāvya*.

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[5] *Cf.* Bhaṭṭāchārya, T. N., *Vāchaspatyam*, Vol. II, p. 1204.

[6] *Cf.* Sircar. D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p 269.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[9] Diskalkar has, however, taken the word *Tāta* as an epithet of Kumarasiṁgha, which does not appear to be correct. But if Kumarasiṁgha himself is taken as *daṁḍanāyaka*, the expression *tāta-pratipatti* in that case, may mean "the ancestral territorial division" of the chief, where the village Uṁjhā situated.

[10] *Cf. Epigraphia Indica*, Vol, XI, p. 46

[11] *Cf. Lēkhapaddhati, G.O.S.* XIX, pp. 99-100.

[12] *Cf.* Sircar, D. C., *op.cit.*, p. 1.

[13] *Cf Lēkhapaddhati, op.cit.*

[14] *Cf. Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 47 ; Also *Cf*, Majumdar, A. K., *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, (1956) p. 235.

[15] *Cf.* Bhandarkar's List, No. 579, where a *talāra* has been stated as being made in charge of a fort.

But what was the actual procedure of disposing of this *Talārābhāvya*? It is clear that it was collected by *Talāra*. But whether it was sent to the central treasury by the *Talāra* who should have been in that case a paid servant of the state or only a certain portion of such income was sent to state, the remainder being utilised for his maintenance by the *Talāra*, is not clear. Probably the first

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[16] In Madhya Pradesh, even an ordinary village-watchman is called *Kotwal*.

[17] *Cf.* Sircar, D. C., *op.cit.* p. 105.

[18] *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 306.

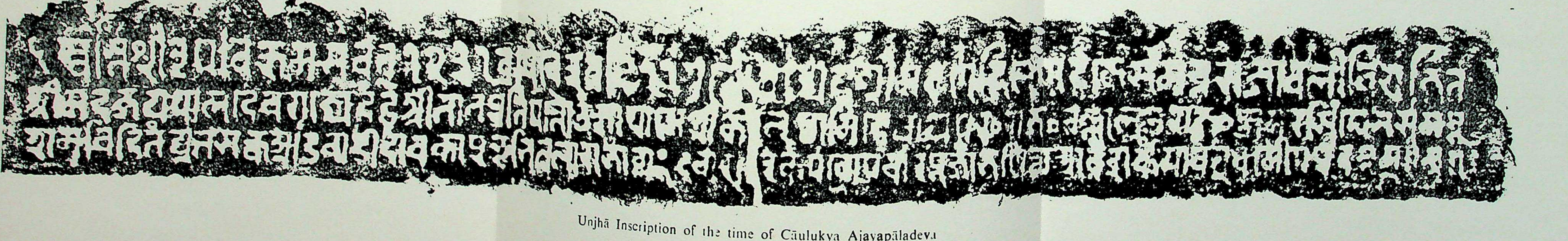
[19] *Cf. Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 35.

[20] For another interesting use of this word in the sense of "a servant of the king", see *Sircar, D. C., op. cit.*, p. 273 (*Rāja-satka* and *Rājasēvaka*).

[21] *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 6. For *details*, see the commentary *Bālamanōramā ON Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, *Kāraka*, Ist *sūtra, and strīpratyaya sūtra* (480). However, if the term is to be connected in any way with the expression *āḍikṛtam* (*Cf, lēkhapaddhati*, glossary, p. 118, (p. 43), then it would mean a tax on mortgaged things, but whether such type of tax was ever in practice, is not known.

[22] *Cf, Sircar, D. C., op. cit.*, p. 357.

[23] In the state of Haryana the word *Vāḍi* or *Bāḍi* is locally used for a cotton field.



Unjhā Inscription of the time of Cāulukya Ajayapāladeva thing is more likely in the present case as otherwise it would have not been possible for the donor to donate the total income of *Talāra* to the god Kālasvāmin.[24]

The word *Para°* has been described by Lüders[25] as possibly, the chief but in the present case, while it has been specifically used for the donor's father only and there is title *Rājā* (i.e. *Rajaputra*) as indicative of the status of a chief[26], used twice for the donor and his father, the word appears to be an abbreviated form of some honorific title. It may stand here for some expression like *parārdhya* (i.e., the most excellent).

The king Ajayapāladēva mentioned in line 2, has been identified with the ruler of this name, who flourished in the dynasty of the chaulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka and succeeded his uncle[27] Kumārapāla on the throne.

Out of the two names of geographical importance as found in the inscription, Aṇahilapāṭaka (line 1) has been identified with the morden town of Pāṭan[28], former Baroda State, now in the Tahsil of the same name, Mehsana District, Gujarat, while Uṁjhā*grāma* (line 2) is apparently the village Unjhā the findspot of the inscription and where the temple of Kālasvāmidēva, (line 2) is still extant.

TEXT[29]

1 Ōṁ [30] Svasti śrī-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1231 varṣē Caitra vadi 11 Gurau Ady=ēha śrīmad=Aṇhilapāṭakē samasta-rājāvalī-virājita-

2 śrīmad-Ajayapāladēva-rājyē Daṁḍa [31] (Daṇḍa) śrī Tāta-pratipattau Uṁjhā-grāmē śrī Kālasvāmidēvāya Para °[32] Rāja o [33] Vallāla pu[34] Rāja o Kumarasiṁghēna samasta-

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[24] For a comparison with the practice prevalent in the contemporary Châhamāna kingdoms, see Sharma, Dasharatha, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, (1959), p. 207.

[25] *Cf* Lüders' List, No. 1049.

[26] *Cf.* Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[27] *Cf.* Ray, H. C., *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 998-99. A. K. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, pp. 126-27, 406 and 455-56) has, however, maintained " that Ajayapāla was the son and not the nephew of Kumārapāla ". In view of the two sets of statements seemingly contradictory to each other, one while thinking over the expanded meaning of the word *Pitṛ* (*Cf.* Bhaṭṭāchārya, T. N., *Vāchaspatyam*, Vol. V, p. 4188, the expression *pañcha-pitṛi*), would feel tempted to think that Ajayapāla was probably adopted as son and nominated as successor to the throne Kumārapāla during his own life time, though the powerful Jain community tried to influence the King's opinion in favour of the letter's daughter's son Pratāpamalla.

[28] *Cf. Ind , Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p 81.

[29] From ink-impressions.

[30] Expressed by a symbol which has been ignored by Diskalkar.

[31] Abbreviated form of *Daṁḍanāyaka*.

[32] Stands for some honorific title like *Parārdhya*.

[33] Abbreviated form of *Rājaputra*.

[34] Abbreviated form of *Putra*.

3 grāma-viditaṁ dyūta-sakta-āḍa-vāḍī-dāvakā-prabhṛiti-Talārābhāvyaṁ[35] divā-rātrikaṁ paṁchōpachāṛa-pūjāṁ bhaṇitvā ācaṁdrārkaṁ yāvat dharmēṇa pradattaṁ ॥ cha[36] ॥

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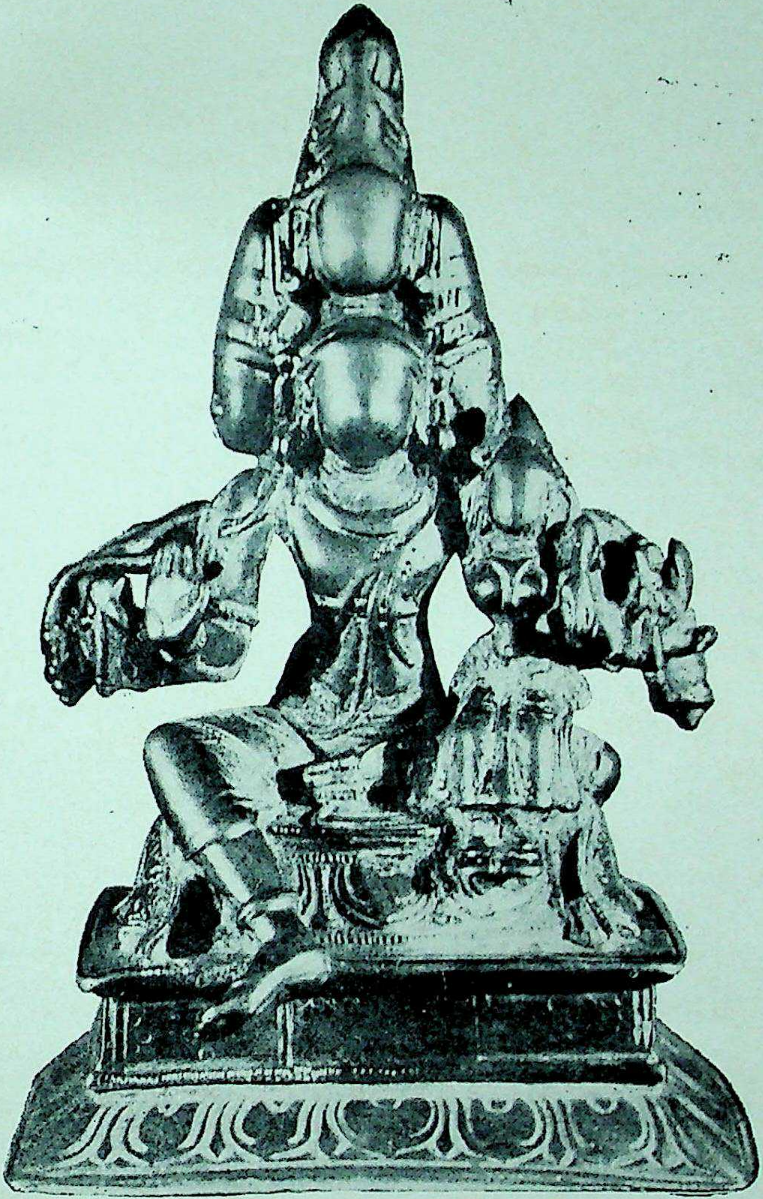
[35] Initially visargas were written, but later on corrected into *anusvāra* by deleting the lower dot.

[36] It is just to mark the end of the inscription to observe the *maṁgalānta* tradition.



Sadāśiva

ROSEWOOD MODEL OF FIVE-STORIED PAGODA, HORYUJI TEMPLE

(The Oldest Wooden Structure In The World)

By

SOBI BUSSAN, OSAKA (JAPAN)

In the photo is a small-scale rosewood model of the Five-storied Pagoda of Horyuji Temple. Horyuji is a Buddhist temple in Nara, Japan. It was built in the Asuka era, about 1,300 years ago, making it the oldest extant wooden structure in the world. Buddhism grew up in India and then spread to China. It was brought into Japan through Korea in the sixth century. To accept the foreign religion or not was the cause of severe internal political strife, which was only intensified by domestic antagonism and rivalry. The situation was somewhat similar to the Roman Empire when Christianity entered and spread, bringing political turmoil with it.

Coming out victorious, the faction which supported acceptance of Buddhism paved the way for Prince Shotoku to become regent. He built Horyuji Temple in 607. It is not clear whether the existing structure is the original one, or whether it is a reconstruction, since the temple was reported to have burned down in 670. In any case, Horyuji as it stands today remains the oldest wooden structure in the world.

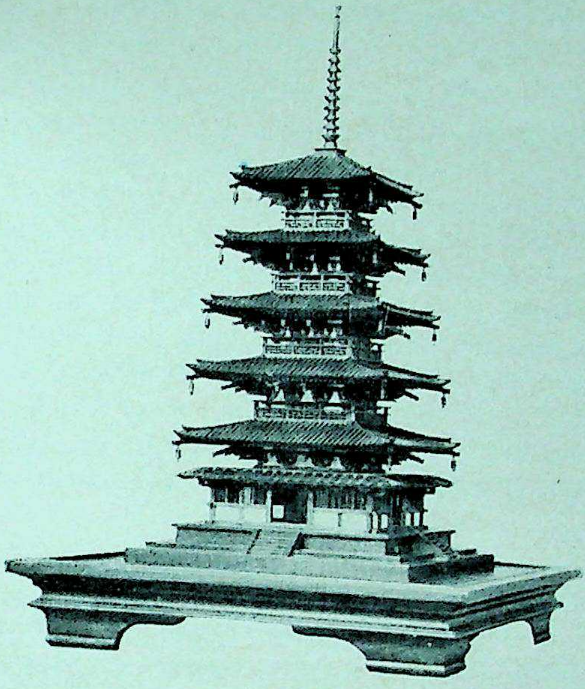
Horyuji Temple embodies both the culture of the Asian continent and culture unique to Japan. While many aspects of the temple may be called "Chinese" in derivation, the layout itself, for example, is distinctly Japanese. The typical layout of the classical Chinese Buddhist temple is symmetrical, but the design of Horyuji is asymmetrical, with the Main Hall placed on the right, the Five-storied Pagoda on the left, and the Lecture Hall in front as seen from the Inner Gate. This layout is said to express yearning for the natural beauty of irregular balance, or imperfection that is one of the features of Japan's unique sense of aesthetics.

On the other hand, certain aspects of Horyuji suggest interchange with ancient European culture. Entasis columns, for example, which are not native to Japan, are found from place to place within the temple structure. They are said to have originated in Greek culture and have been introduced into Japan.

The Five-storied Pagoda is constructed on a double-base foundation and rises to a height of 34. 1m. The line connecting the five tiled roofs gives a feeling of a mysterious creature soaring into the sky. The pagoda combines the beauty of harmony and inharmony. Yet, the design is based on a carefully-calculated image of the ideal proportions and space ; but the calculations are hidden. The width of the highest roof is half that of the lowest, and the length of the spire rising above the top roof is one-third the total height. Further, the incline of the roof and the depth of the eaves are reduced at each stage from the lowest roof to the highest at a constant rate and in even proprotion. These elements combine to create the dignity of the lower part and the decorous, graceful height of the upper part.

The small-scale model of the Five-storied Pagoda is made of seasoned, elegant rosewood, fashioned step-by-step by skilled handicraft techniques that required more than two months. Even down to the last detail, including bracket complexes and spire, the model is a tribute to precision, an almost exact replica of the actual pagoda. It is a work of art that offers the viewer a chance to see and to appreciate the beauty of the Five-storied Pagoda at Huryuji Temple.

The model was made by Sobi Bussan Co., Ltd., and the design is the work of Mr. Kohfu Hamano, a member of the company. Because the model is a handicraft, it is not possible to make it in great quantities. In order that people in other countries who appreciate the beauty of art can themselves see the charm of the pagoda, Sobi is planning to send the model overseas, taking the opportunity of exhibiting it at the International Frankfurt Fair, February 23 to 27 in West Germany.



Rosewood Model of Five-Storied Pagoda, Horyuji Temple

A REMARKABLE SADĀŚIVAMŪRTI FROM DHĀMATVĀN (DIST. AHMEDABAD)

by

V. S. PAREKH, Baroda AND VASANTALAL TRIVEDI Undrel,
(Dist. Ahmedabad)

Sadāśiva is as the name suggests, a benign form of Śiva. The Sadāśiva and Mahāsadāśivamūrtis illustrate in a way, some tenets of the Āgamānta Śaivas and the Śuddha Śaivas. A fairly elaborate account of the esoteric philosophy of the Śuddha-Śaiva School of Śaivism has been given by T.A.G. Rao [1]. Thus, Sadāśivamūrti seems to be the characteristic form of Śiva. The *Uttarakāmikāgama* states that " the colour of Sadāśivamūrti should be of white colour. Sadāśiva should have ten arms in the five right hands ; there should be the *Śakti Śūla, Khaṭvāṅga, Abhaya* and *prasāda* (?) and in the five left ones, the *Bhujaṅga* (a snake), *Akṣamālā, Ḍamaru, Nīlotpala*, and a fruit of the *mātuliṅga*. Or, Sidāśiva may be conceived as having only one face set with the three eyes, the *candrakalā* tucked up in the *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and adorned with all ornaments such as the *Yajñopavīta*. Manomanī, the supreme Goddess should be standing by his side.

The *Rūpāvatāra* (27 A) agrees with the *Uttara-kāmikāgama* as far as the depiction of the attributes and other iconographic features of Sadāśiva are concerned but it differs from *Uttarakāmikāgama* in the display of the pose. Instead of the standing pose referred to by the *Uttarakāmikāgama*, the *Rūpāvatāra* mentions the *padmāsana* for the Sadāśivamūrti. Similar description of Sadāśivamūrti is also given by *Vāmana purāṇa* with a little difference.

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[1] Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 361-74 ; See also Mitra H., ' Sadāśiva Worship in Early Bengal, ' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,*' New Series, Vol. XXIX, 1933, pp. 171-254, pls. 13-18. The Śivasiddhāntins speak of three *tattvas* Śiva, Sadāśiva and Maheśa, representing the *niṣkalā* (subtle, formless), *Sakalā-niṣkalā* (*sthūla-sūkṣma* or having body or form and at the same time formless) and *Sakalā* (*sthūla*, ' embodied ', ' concrete ',) of the God. In the very beginning of pure creation, śuddhasṛṣṭi, five *Śaktis* emanate from the niṣkalā aspect of the God in a chain of succession '; From Śiva emerges Parāśakti (Śāntyātītaśakti), from this Ādiśakti (Śāntiśakti), from it Icchāśakti (Vidyāśakti), from the preceeding one jñānaśakti (Pratiṣṭhāśakti) and from the last Kriyāśakti (Nivṛttiśakti). From these five Śaktis evolve in order five *tattvas* or *Sādākhyas*. viz. the first Sadāśivatattva or Śivasādākhya, the second Sadāśivatattva or Amrutasādākhya, the third Sadāśivatattva or the Mūrttasādākhya, the fourth Sadāśivatattava, the Kartṛsādākhya and the fifth Sadāśivatattva, the Karmasādākhya. These five Sādākhyas corresponds in a manner to the five divine forms or aspects known as Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Sadyojāta and Iśāna, which are also collectively known as Pañcabrahmas (Iśānādayah) and they face the north, east, south, west and the top respectively

It is generally prescribed in all available texts that a Sadāśiva figure should have five heads and ten arms though Rūpamaṇḍana (IV. 23-24) does not lay down any hard and fast rules regarding the exact number of heads and simply states that the image may be multiheaded (*bahurūpa*),

Vāyu Purāṇa (33-62) describes that Sadāśivamūrti with bull as his mount, has five faces, each face having three eyes (trilocana and attributes like Kapāla, Śūla, Khaṭwāṅga etc. and crescent on the *jaṭā* whereas Rūpamaṇḍana includes Sadāśiva in the Ekādaśarudra and describes him as the sixteen-armed *Bahurūpa-sadāśiva*.

Shri Rao[2] has illustrated two bronze specimens of Sadāśiva fig. 1 (pl. CXIII) and they exactly corresponds to the above given description. The God sits in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* whereas fig. 2 of the same plate stands in gracious *tribhaṅga*. The God has eighteen arms and looks terrific. Both the images appear to be modern. J. N. Banerjea has also reproduced a *Pañcavaktra* ten-armed figure of Sadāśiva.[3] Herein the God is seated in *padmāsana* on a double petalled lotus. The image is in the Rājśāhī Museum.

The Sena kings of Bengal were devout worshippers of Sadāśiva and they used the figure of the God as their royal seal-device.[4]

A detailed iconographical study of 'Two Unique Sadāśiva Images from Khajurāho' has been given by Dr. Ramashraya Avasthi.[5] Recently, Dr. B. N. Sharma[6] has noted three Sadāśiva images belonging to the 16th cent. from an exhibition arranged on the 'Śiva Theme in Indian Art'; they are as under: One image of Sadāśiva discovered from the Hilly region, is a five-headed and ten-armed deity with a deer in one of the left hands while the other left hand is in *abhya mudrā*. The other attributes of the remaining hands are not known. (Exhibition R. No. -71.72). The other image, probably from the same Hilly area, is seated cross-legged on a double petalled lotus, supporting his consort on the left lap. He wears a *sarpa hāra* and different attributes—Bull and lion, the mounts of Śiva and Pārvatī, are shown on the pedestal in front (Exhibition R. No. -71.73). The third image, discovered from Nepal, has four faces carved in front, who have a horrified look and bear *muṇḍas* on the heads and wear other usual attributes. The deity is encircled by a flaming border. (Exhibition R. No. 71.71).

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[2] Rao, T. A. G., op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. II, Pl. CXIII, figs. 1–2; see also Pl. CXIV depicting 'Mahāsadāśivamūrti', fig. on Pl. CXV is not the image of Sadāśiva.

[3] Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Second revised edition), Pl. XL, fig. 3.

[4] Banerjea, J N., op. cit, p. 478 and also see Bhattasali, N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 110.

[5] Avasthi (Dr.) Ramashraya, 'Two Unique Sadāśiva Images from Khajurāho', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LXIII, Pt. II, pp. 211–215.

[6] Sharma (Dr.) B. N., 'Śiva Theme in Indian Art' (National Museum, New Delhi), *Oriental Art*, Spring 1975, Vol. XXI, No. 1, (New Series), pp. 85–88.

Dr. N. K. Bhattsali[7] also has described and discussed one five-faced and ten-armed image of Sadāśiva seated on a double petalled lotus, with his consort on his left lap.

Sadāśivamūrti from Dhāmatvān (Dist. Ahmedabad) :

A very interesting figure representing *Pañcavaktra*, Sadāśiva has been found from Dhāmatvān (Ta. Daśkroī, Dist. Ahmedabad). The image is made of Pañcadhātu and it is measured about 15 cms. × 10 cms. in size. The image is reported to have come from the house of a brāhmaṇa from Dhāmatvāna.

Sadāśiva has five faces and ten-arms and sits in ardhaparayaṅkāsana pose on a double petalled lotus on a tiered *pañcaratha* pedestal with Pārvatī seated on his left lap in close embrace. The hands and the attributes are clumsily executed. The hands of the right side carry (from the top) *Trisūla, Khaṭvāṅga Śakti*, an indistinct object and *Abhaya*, whereas the left hands hold Bell, *Ḍamaru, Pāśa* and *Sarpa*, Pārvatī, sitting with legs hanging loosely. She carries lotus in her left hand while with the right hand she embraces the lord. The arrangement of the five faces of the God is peculiar. Two heads, one on the left and the other on the right of the central head and two heads, one over the other, on the main head are depicted.

Unfortunately the faces of the deity are completely worn out, while the side-faces though partly worn out, preserve expressions. All the five heads wear high *jiṭāmukuṭa*. The deity is bedecked with circular *Kuṇḍalas*, chestband, armlets, bracelets, anklets and the fine lower garment is tied up with an ornate *Kaṭimekhalā*. It is remarkable that the deity wears a sarpa-hāra and sarpa-yajñopavīta.

The ornaments, modelling of the figure, execution of the lotus design and drapery, bear stylistic similarity with that of Umā-Maheśvara figure from Baroda Museum which is dated to the 12th cent. A.D.. This specimen appears to be little earlier and therefore it may be ascribed to the 10th-11th cent. A.D.

It is possible that this Pañcadhātu image, under description, may not be belonging to Gujarat, but due to its portable size, it appears to have migrated from the Eastern India or Nepal or Himalayan Hill-areas where Sadāśiva-images (mostly bronzes) are still being worshipped in considerable number.[8]

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[7] Bhaṭṭsali, N. K., '*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*', plate L1 (b).

[8] Recently, a work on '*Iconography of Sadāśiva*' by Dr. B. N. Sharma, has been published, alongwith a number of photographs of sculptures, bronzges and paintings of Sadāśiva, his consort and Mahāsadāśiva.

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OBITUARY

Prof. Dr. P. L. Vaidya

In the death of Prof. P. L. Vaidya, on 25th February, 1978, India lost a great savant of Sanskrit, Prākrit, Pālī, and Apabhraṁśa languages and literature, a versatile scholar and a great teacher.

Dr. Vaidya was born on June 29, 1891. He had his early education in Sanskrit grammar, literature, philosophy and Āyurveda (Indian systems of medicine), according to the traditional way in Pāṭhaśālās. In June 1910, he came to Pune (Poona) and joined the New English School, passing his Matriculation examination in 1912, receiving the much coveted Jagannath Sankershet scholarship by standing first in Sanskrit. In 1913 he joined Fergusson College for further studies and took his B.A. degree with first class, winning Bhau Daji Prize in Sanskrit. In 1918-19 he joined Rajaram College, Kolhapur as Professor of Sanskrit and Pālī and from 1919 to 1930 he taught in the Willingdon College, Sangli. During this period Dr. Vaidya took his M.A. degree, of the Calcutta University, in Pālī, scoring a first class. In 1921-23, as Government of India's language scholar, Dr. Vaidya went to Paris, when he studied under famous Orientalists in Bonn, Brussels and Paris. In 1923, he obtained Doctorate degree from Paris University.

Back in India, Dr. Vaidya worked as Professor of Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pālī in the Fergusson College, Poona (1930-32) and N. Wadia College, Poona (1932-47). After retirement, he was appointed Mayurbhanj Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Pālī, in the Banaras Hindu University, during years 1947-1952. Then he worked as Director of Mithila Institute of Sanskrit Research at Darbhanga, Bihar, during 1954-58.

From 1961 he joined the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as General Editor of the Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* and worked there till 1972, editing *Karṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the whole *Harivaṁśa* and prepared the *Pratīka*-Index of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* in six volumes.

Dr. Vaidya's contribution to the whole project of Critical Edition of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, now completed by the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda is quite noteworthy. His experience of the Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* was of great help to the editors of the various *kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Dr. Vaidya was an active member of the Editorial Board for the Critical Edition of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. He himself edited two big important *Kāṇḍas*, namely, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

Dr. Vaidya has also published critical editions of works of three grammarians of Prākrit language, three volumes of Puṣpadanta's monumental Apabhraṁśa work *Mahāpurāṇu*, some texts of the Jaina canons, *Bauddhārthāgamasaṁgraha*, an anthology, 17 volumes of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. He has many other articles and writings to his credit.

Prof. P. L. Vaidya was the recepient of a Certificate of Honour (Sanskrit Paṇḍita) of the Government of India (1963). In 1969 he was elected the General President of the All India Oriental Conference. The University of Poona conferred on him an Honorary D. Litt. degree in 1972.

May his Soul rest in Peace !

UMAKANT P. SHAH

REVIEWS

Excavation at Dhatva : PROF. R. N. MEHTA, DR. S. N. CHOWDHARY, DR. K. T. M. HEGDE and DR. (MRS.) D. R. SHAH; Published by Department of Archaeology, M. S. University Baroda, M. S. University Archaeology Series No. 12, 1975, pp. 70, Price Rs. 25/-.

Dhatwā a small village on the southern bank of Tapi, was excavated in 1968, and the results published in 1975, but for some reason, the report on it was received for review only on 1-8-1978 !

From the excavations at Malvan by Allchin, Jokha by the M. S. University and now Dhatva by the same University, it would seem that the coastal region of Gujarat had felt the impact of folk movements represented by the Harappan, Late Harappan. Malwa, Jorwe and Early Historic Cultures (the Black-and-Red Wares).

The question is the direction or directions of these movements. The second is the nature of these settlements. These are said to be small villages-but how small?

Now after 25 or 30 years we should face these larger problems. And the M. S. University is in an ideal position to do this. It is situated in or very close to the scene of these settlements, secondly it has a tested and experienced team.

Hence it should first *fully* explore the coastal area, and select one or two sites for a horizontal excavation. This is the least that archaeologists in India and the world, after its existent for nearly 30 years would expect. What the Americans have done in Baluchistan, and sind and the Italians in Sistan, we should do near at home, otherwise we shall have to be satisfied with the description of finds. The exact significance of these in the life of the people should be our aim now.

In the present report, the most important thing is the establishment of the fact that the inhabitants of the Early Historic period manufactured iron by collecting laterite nodules, and probably quarrying from the laterite beds of the Tapi basin. The ore was then roasted and smelted in small clay-lined, crucible shaft furnaces. Though the surface of the metal was carburised and case-hardened, it is not clear whether good steel was produced. This question is not of local importance. It has a bearing on the production of the earliest iron and steel in India. It is now fairly certain that both in the north and south iron was known by at least 700-800 B. C. we then learn from early Greek writers that India had given some quantity of steel to Alexander the Great, (for he had greatly admired Indian steel swords). What was Gujarat's share in the production of this steel if Dhatwa is regarded as " one of the earliest iron smelting sites in Gujarat " (p. 48).? Since no C-14 date is available for the site, the bracket, 6th century B. C.-2nd Century B. C. is not useful for the problem.

H. D. SANKALIA

Early Mādhyamika in India and China : by RICHARD H. ROBINSON; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1976, Price Rs. 45/-.

This is the Indian reprint of the book by Dr. Robinson. He was the great scholar of early Chinese Literature and Philosophy. His main contribution in this book is that for the first time he studied the Mādhyamika school in India with special reference to its development in China in proper perspective. He was not satisfied with the studies of Mādhyamika Philosophy by the scholars of repute like Steherbātsky, La Vallee Poussin and Schayer. To some extant he was satisfied with the work of Dr. T. R. V. Murti, who compared the Mādhyamika philosophy with that of Kant, Hegel—Bradley. Still it was necessary to know the influence of the Mādhyamika philosophy in China when it was introduced by Kumārajīva between A.D. 401 and 409 and out of this influence how it was developed in China. This task is ably conducted by Dr. Robinson. First he has described the Early Indian Mādhyamika and discussed the life and works of Kumārajīva who introduced the philosophy in China and then he has discussed the three main authors of China-Hui-Yuan, Seng-jui and Seng-Chao and their contribution to the Mādhyamika philosophy. At the end he has given the translation of the original Chinese language 10 documents into English so that one can study for himself the Chinese Mādhyamika philosophy.

No doubt this is most important contribution by Dr. Robinson and we in India should be grateful to this great scholar.

DALSUKH MALVANIA

Ṣaḍ-darśana [First khaṇḍa] : *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* : by Dr. NAGIN J. SHAH ; Published by the University Grantha Nirmāṇa Board, Gujarat State, Ahmedabad-6. Pages 6 + 360 : Price Rs. 16/.

The work under review is the first of the authoritative works on the Six Systems of Indian Philosophy proposed to be published in Gujarātī by the Gujarat State University Grantha Nirmāṇa Board. Since ancient times these six systems are divided into three pairs of *Sāṅkhya-Yoga*, *Nyāya—Vaiśeṣika* and *Pūrvamīmāṁsā-Uttaramīmāṁsā*. As such it is quite appropriate that the first two systems viz. *Sāṅkhya and Yoga* are treated together in this book. The Board proposed to publish works dealing in Gujarātī with the main six systems of Philosophy. In this vast sub-continent, however, many more philosophical systems have arisen. This is made clear in the *Praveśaka* or Introduction of 34 pages, wherein is given a brief but very clear account of as many as 19 such systems in the following order:

(1) *Cārvāka*, (2) *Jaina*, (3) *Theravāda* (*Bauddha*), (4) *Sarvāstivāda* or *Vaibhāṣika-darśana* (*Bauddha*), (5) *Sautrāntika-darśana* (*Bauddha*), (6) *Vijñānavāda* (*Bauddha*), (7) *Śūnyavāda* (*Bauddha*), (8) *Bauddha Nyāyavāda*, (9) *Sāṅkhya-darśana*, (10) *Yoga-darśana*, (11) *Vaiśeṣika-darśana*, (12) *Nyāya-darśana*, (13) *Mīmāṁsā-darśana*, (14) *Śāṅkara Advaita Vedānta*, (15) *Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta* (Rāmānuja), (16) *Dvaitādvaita Vedānta* (Nimbārka), (17) *Dvaita Vedānta* (Madhva), (18) *Śuddhādvaita Vedānta* (Vallabha) and (19) *Kāśmīra Śaiva Darśana*. Therein the learned author has shown the special features of all these systems and having discussed the various objections raised against the same, point by point, has refuted them in a very logical way.

In Gujarātī the first attempt of discussing the growth of philosophy from the historical point of view was made by Shri Narmadāśaṅkara Mehtā in his well-known Gujarātī work '*Hindu Tattvajñāna-no Itihāsa*' (History of Indian Philosophy) published as early as 1924-25. Thereafter such thinkers as Ānandaśaṅkara Dhruva, Maṇilāla Nabhubhāī Dwivedī, Narasiṃharāva Diveṭiyā and Paṇḍita Sukhalālajī contributed their bit in the field, the most outstanding contribution being that of Prajñācakṣu Pt. Sukhalālajī. His insight and art of making the subject easily understandable as well as his simple, distinct and forceful narration are very well-known. Dr. Shah, being his worthy disciple, appears to have inherited these peculiarities of his *guru* quite considerably as is evidenced by the work under review, which has proved to be the best book in Gujarātī on the subject by virtue of critical but clear and distinct expression, careful comparative study, original thinking and keen perseverance of basing all his discussions on the study of the authoritative original Sanskrit works only.

For the *Sāṅkhya* system he has resorted to such authoritative treatises as the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, the *Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya*, the *Yuktidīpikā* and the *Aniruddhavṛtti*; while for the *Yoga* system he has based his observations on the *Yoga-sūtra*, *the Yoga-bhāṣya*, the

Tattva-vaiśāradī and the *Yoga-vārttika.* It is probably for the first time in this work that the authority of the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras* is accepted for discussions on several important *Sāṅkhya* theories such as the *Pariṇāmavāda*, the three states of *Dharma*, and the three *Pariṇāmas* of *Prakṛti*.

The exposition of both these systems is made in proper sequence in 18 *Adhyayanas* each. At the close of the Introduction and each of these 36 chapters copious references are given, wherein mostly relevant portions from the original Sanskrit treatises have been quoted.

The treatment of the different topics is quite critical and every minute point is dealt with. This becomes evident even by a look at the titles and sub-titles of the topics treated. We need not go into details of the same here, lest the review should be very long. The reviewer intends here just to point out the peculiar features of the book, its importance and usefulness and thereby to inspire the readers to look into it.

The expression suits the seriousness of the subject and is no-where confusive. The language is quite simple and easy to understand. The arguments are never insipid. The style is quite perspicuous. The philosophical problems are handled very skilfully. And, above all, original thinking of the author, based on the discussions in the original Sanskrit treatises, is experienced everywhere. All these qualities, being very rare in a work dealing with such a serious subject, go a long way to give the book uniqueness—the reviewer feels that there is no exaggeration in stating that it is the best book of its type in Gujarātī language. Of course, all may not agree with the sequence presented here or the method adopted for expounding the different theories. Nevertheless, the deep insight, comprehension and reasoning—never losing grace - will indeed be appreciated by all.

In the treatment of both the systems the discussions of the doctrines are presented continuously without any break, even like the flow of a river, and the differences of opinion among the ancient *ācāryas* are included therein at the corresponding places and are not given a separate treatment. This novel approach is also quite praise-worthy.

The copious references given at the close of each chapter as well as the Introduction undoubtedly increase the usefulness of the work. All the same, a bibliography of the works—both ancient and modern—written so far on these two systems of philosophy as well as an Index of important words used therein would have tremendously enhanced the importance and usefulness of the book. In fact, such Indices must be deemed essential in the works of this type. Moreover, this book is written for progressive students and as such absence of such indices would be regarded as a defect. Again, the name of MADHVA, the celebrated *ācārya* of middle ages who propounded *Dvaita-vedānta*, is spelt everywhere in this book as *Mādhva*, which too pinches the appreciative reader.

Indeed, the author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for having written and published such an excellent work in Gujarātī, which will prove not only highly useful but essential for students of Indian Philosophy studying through the medium of Gujarātī language. Its lucid and graceful presentation will, besides, make it useful and interesting for general readers as well. It will not be out of place here to hope that all the subsequent books prepared and published under this project will inherit the merits of the first one of the series.

J. P. THAKER

Cultural History from the Kūrma-Purāṇa : by G. K. Pai, published by Sukṛtīndra Oriental Research Institute, Cochin-682002, 1975, pp. vii + 544; Price : Not mentioned.

Purāṇas form a vast bulk of the Sanskrit literature and are one of the important sources of ancient Indian history and culture. Studies on individual Purāṇas and studies on select themes from the Purāṇas are a welcome sign vindicating the significance and trustworthiness of the Purāṇas. It may be argued that study of individual Purāṇas may not add substantially to the existing knowledge, but it may be pointed that the study of individual Purāṇas has its own importance in the general assessment of the Purāṇic literature and its contribution to various branches of knowledge in ancient India as well as to the study and understanding of history and culture of the Indian people. They have their contribution for the understanding of some of the religious and cultural beliefs, customs, conventions *etc.* of the Indian people in modern times. It is a pleasure to welcome this study by Dr. G. K. Pai from this point of view.

Dr. Pai commenced his doctoral research-work under Dr. M. A. Mehendale and completed it under the late Dr. A. D. Pusalker and earned the Ph.D. degree from the University of Poona in 1965. It is this doctoral thesis which is now published in the book-form (Preface, p. ii).

Dr. Pai has presented his study of the Kūrma-Purāṇa in the following seven chapters and five appendices :—

Chapters :—

I: Summary of the Kūrma-Purāṇa (pp. 1-17).
II: The five characteristics of the Kūrma-Purāṇa (pp. 18-60).

III: Religion (pp. 61-151).
IV: Philosophy (pp. 152-176).
V: Varṇāśramadharma or Social Organisation (pp. 177-275).
VI: Flora and Fauna (pp. 276-321).
VII: Chronology Date and Linguistic Peculiarities (pp. 322-337).

Appendices :—

I: List of weapons (pp. 338-346).
II: Vows and Expiations (pp. 347-362).
III: Pilgrimage and Gifts (pp. 363-366).
IV: Geographical Chapters of the Kūrma-Purāṇa (pp. 367-369).
V: Identification of Places (pp. 370-517).

This is followed by "Abbreviations" (pp. 518-522), "Bibliography" (pp. 523-544) and the dynastic chart.

The author has analysed the data critically and has focussed comparative data wherever necessary. The presentation is lucid and all this does credit to the author. However it may be mentioned that a corrigendum would have listed misprints, *e.g.* "irreglar" (p. 337) for "irregular", "Pāśupota" (p. 66) for "Pāśupata", "Purānik" (p. 67) for "Purāṇic" or "*Paurāṇika*" "Śri" (p. 67) for "Śrī" *etc*. It is wished that the non-English words like *liṅga* (p. 68) were printed in italics, as is the general practice.

While reading the Preface (p. i) one wonders at a sweeping statement: "material regarding Indian culture embodied in the Purāṇa texts remains untapped," when, now, studies on individual Purāṇas and Purāṇas in general from varied points of view are available in print and/or in unpublished research-theses in various universities in India.

The author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this work and the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India for partial subvention towards the publication of this book (Preface, p. iii).

We look forward to have many more works from the pen of Dr. Pai.

S. G. KANTAWALA

*The 'Śrī Nārāyaṇavijayaḥ,' A Sanskrit Biographical Epic**—by Balaram Panicker, Pub. Author, pp. 262 + 257, 1971, Price Not mentioned.

Before we look to the work proper it will be beneficial to give a historical account, though in brief, of the life and work of Shri Narayana Guru (1855-1928), so as to serve as a concrete background for the evaluation of the epic.

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* Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-Vijayaḥ (Sa-Vyākhyānaḥ) by Professor K. Balarama Panicker. Published by the author from Trivendrum in 1971.

Shri Narayana Guru was born on Chingam 1030 M.E., i.e. 28th August, 1855 A.D., in an old Ezhava family known as Vayalvaram at Chempazhanti, a village about seven miles north of Trivendrum.[1] The Ezhavas were considered by the caste *Hindus* as out of the *Varṇa* system. His father Madan Asan was a village teacher and a learned guide to the local people. His mother Kutty Amma was a simple and pious woman. After gaining as much knowledge in Malayalam and Sanskrit as possible from his father and maternal uncle, he had his first lessons from Chempazhanti Mootha Pillai and Krishna Vaidyar. At the age of twenty-three he left his village and went to a place hundred miles north to study classical Sanskrit literature under the great scholar Kumman Palli Raman Pillai. While there, he used to practise meditation too. When he returned home and engaged himself in teaching and conducting religious discourses, his parents and relatives solemnised his marriage by proxy without even his consent. Being unable to reconcile himself with the idea of leading a worldly life of an ordinary man, he left his home, and spent a number of years in meditation on a hill called Marathwamala.[2]

By the time he became forty, his charismatic personality started exercising a deep influence on the people of Kerala and he was soon recognized as a spiritual teacher of great vision, truth and love. Kerala in those days was a land of cruel caste systems and social inequalities of the worst type. The lower castes were driven away and beaten up and even done to death for supposed violations of any caste rules. Shri Narayana Guru started preaching to the people in Kerala about the practical ways of uplifting themselves through self-help. He explained to them the fallacy of the caste system and instilled into the minds of the people the spirit of revolution which defied the meaningless ancient practices and customs in order to build a new era. He laid emphasis on the oneness of man. This message of 'One caste, one religion, one God for men' is epoch-making. He laid stress on the teaching of Buddha and Śankara. To him any theory or practice against this interpretation of *Advaita* was a negation of *Advaita* itself. He enjoined people to unite, to work hard and to help themselves to liberation. Since worship at temples was denied to the lower classes, the Guru started opening temples and installing in them idols in the classical styles. He established more than sixty shrines and temples throughout the length and breadth of Kerala, the notable among them being the Śiva temple built at Aruvipuram in 1894, the Śāradā temple built at Varkala in 1912, and the temples at Murukumpuzha and Shertalli.[3]

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[1] 'Shri Narayana Guru Swamikal,' Shri Narayan Dharma. p. 21.

[2] 'Shri Narayana Guru'-released by Shri Narayan Cultural Mission, Ahmedabad Branch, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

Several followers and disciples of the Guru wholeheartedly dedicated themselves to the fulfilment of the noble ideals. Dr. Palpoo, Mahakavi Kumaran Asan, T. K. Mahadevan, C. V. Kunjuraman, Moorkoth Kumaran, C. Krishnan, Sahodaran Ayyappan, and Swami Dharmateertha were the more prominent among his followers for propagation of his teaching and carrying out his directions.[4]

His philosophy, essentially *Advaita*, assumed a more appealing form as it restored the original Upanishadic spirit and shook off the traditional misinterpretations. With the expansion of his activities Narayana Guru had to shift his residence to Sivagiri, Varkala (from 1904 A.D.), and to Advaita Ashrama, Alwaye (from 1914 A.D.). He had frequently to be on the move to several places in Kerala, and had visited Mysore on the invitation of Dr. Palpoo, besides South India and Ceylon. His *Āśramas* became great centres of spiritual, cultural and social activities. It was at Sivagiri at Varkala that Ravindranath Tagore met him in 1922 A.D., and Mahatma Gandhi paid his visit in 1925 A.D. It was at this *Āśrama* that the great saint shook off his mortal coils and attained *Mahā Samādhi* on 20th September 1928 A.D. (5th Kanni 1104 M.E.)[5]

Shri Balarama Panicker, U.G.C. Professor of Sanskrit, University of Kerala, Trivendrum, has taken up, for a biographical epic in Sanskrit, the life of this highly revered socio-religious reformer saint. The title of this epic, '*Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-vijayaḥ*' or '*Śrī-Nārāyaṇavijayam*', is significant in that it sums up the life-long achievements of the saint in the field of bringing about the unity of religions and the brotherhood of men, as also in his struggle for uplifting the lot of the down-trodden strata of his contemporary Hindu society.

The epic comprises in all 1455 verses, in different metres like *Anuṣṭubh*, *Indravajrā*, *Upendravajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Dṛtavilaṁbita*, *Pṛthvī*, *Mandākrāntā*, *Mālinī*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Vidyunmālā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*, *Śālinī*, *Śikhariṇī* and *Sragdharā* divided into 22 cantos, the first one being Introductory, and the rest of them being called cantos 1 to 21, of varied length. The work is also divided into four parts, which contain cantos 1-7, 8-10, 11-15 and 16-21, respectively.

The Introductory (*upodghāta*) canto of 12 verses states the four prime interconnections (*anubandh catuṣṭaya*); canto I, of 59 verses, relates about the parents; canto II, of 54 verses describes the birth and studies; canto III, of 64 verses, treats of his marriage and renunciation; canto IV, of 54 verses, delineates the advice by the maternal uncle; canto V, of 116 verses, describes the tour of holy places; canto VI, of 54 verses, treats of the worship of Subrahmaṇya; and canto VII, of 63 verses, dilates upon the grace by the deity. The part I consists of 476 verses in all.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[5] 'Shri Narayaṇa Guru Swamikal,' Shri Narayan Dharma, pp, 27-28

In part II, canto VIII, of 41 verses, describes the installation of Viśvanātha temple on the bank of the river Gṛtamalā ; canto IX, of 68 verses, deals with the inauguration of the *Śivagiri Maṭha* and installation of goddess Saradai; canto X, of 57 verses, contains the dialogue with Shri Neelakantha Sharma, a prominent Brahmin scholar. Part II, thus, consists of 166 verses in all.

In part III, canto XI, of 80 verses, contains a dialogue with the Christian fathers ; canto XII of 58 verses, canto XIII of 141 verses, canto XIV of 55 verses, and canto XV of 46 verses deal with the establishment of the *Advaita Āśrama* and Sanskrit *Pāṭhaśālā*, lecture on the nature of the individual soul, the conference of learned men, and the formation of a Society of Brotherhood, respectively. Part III, thus, consists of 380 verses.

Part IV, consisting of 453 verses, comprises Cantos XVII to XXI. Canto XVII of 61 verses, canto XVIII of 115 verses, canto XIX of 47 verses, canto XX of 42 verses, and canto XXI of 67 verses describe the meeting with Rabindranatha Tagore, the *Satyāgraha* movement against ban on temple-entry, meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, elucidation of the principle of Unity, establishment of the Organization of Narayana Dharma, and the *Mahāsamādhi* of Narayana Guru, respectively.

As has been aptly pointed out by Professor **P. C. Devasia**, in his Foreward to the NV, '*Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-vijayaḥ*' is a *Mahākāvya* which does not strictly conform to the rules of the artificial epic laid down by teachers like Daṇḍin. It may properly be called a biographical *kāvya*. But why should a twentieth century Sanskritist, well-versed in traditional Sanskrit learning and firmly grounded in the modern western orientation, conform to the norms of the ancient rhetoricians? On the contrary, Professor Panicker has breathed fresh air of western critics like Abercrombie, Routh, Mackail, Dixon, Guerber, Boura, Lewis, and others in regard to the scope and function of a real worthwhile epic. That is why he has taken up the life-story of a great saint-cum-socio-religious revolutionary, a veritable *Yuga-puruṣa*, like Narayana Guru, as the worthy central subject of his epic. The personality being very serene and his life being very simple, the recurring tone of the epic tends to be serene; in the terminology of Sanskrit poetics, one would say that the principal *Rasa* of this epic is *Śānta* with the attendant *Bhāvas* like *Tattvajñāna*, *Nirveda*, etc., flashing forth at proper occasions as they occur at different stages of the life of the hero. It should be noted here that as there are not many ups and downs involving the conflict of conscience in the life of Narayana Guru, there is little scope for the delineation of other *Rasas* like *Śṛṅgāra*, *Hāsya*, *Vīra*, *Raudra*, *Bībhatsa* and *Bhayānaka* On the other hand, the poet has effected a fine admixture of *Karuṇa* and *Adbhuta* with the predominent *Śānta*. The *Karuṇa* is amalgamated with the *Śānta* in the fourth canto (vss. 11-15) when the maternal uncle of Narayana Guru entreats him to return home and lead a married life, rather than renouce the world.Similarly, a fine effect of the *Karuṇa* is depicted in the canto twenty-one (vss. 1-8) when all the disciples and Nature bemoan the death of Narayana Guru. The *Abdhuta* is harmonized with the *Śānta* in the instances when the miraculous aspect of the saint's personality is touched, as for instance, in the second canto (vs. 21), fourth canto (vs. 35), fifth canto (vss. 13-15), sixth canto (vs. 17) and sixteenth canto (vs. 25).

Poetic biography of a socio-religious reformer as this epic is, the emphasis is naturally more on the life-mission and the teachings of Narayana Guru, rather than on the not-many episodes of the simple life of the hero; the episodes also serve to bring out the massage of the saint; in a way they serve to illustrate the life of Narayana Guru. It was a living commentary of his teachings in that he fully translated his preachings into practice in various aspects of his activities, such as, his renunciation, worship Subrahmanya, installation of temples, establishment of schools and hermitages, dialogues with Christian missionaries, conference with scholars, meetings with Tagore and Gandhi, organizing of a movement resistance, and starting the Narayana Dharma Mission. From this point of view the epic is unique in that it fully vibrates with the pulse, and embodies the spirit of the life-mission of the saint.

In his attempt at poeticizing the depiction of the life of the hero, Professor Panicker has added a touch of the miraculous on a few occasions, while at the same time taking due care that the depiction does not render the personality of Narayana Guru quite ethereal and mythological, nor lift it too much off the solid earth. Nevertheless, he has not totally refrained from divinising the personality of the hero, since it is ingrained in the circumstances of the birth of such extraordinary saints, more so when the epic is composed in India, and that too in Sanskrit.

In consonance with the predominent trend of simplicity and profundity in the life of the hero, the poet has adopted a style endowed with simplicity and lucidity, with an ornate touch when the situation demands. This stems from the author's sense of devotion for Narayana Guru and his teachings, as has been expressed in the Introductory canto, and more pointedly in the very first two verses thereof viz.,

Śrīman-nārāyaṇa-guroḥ pāvanīṁ mahatīṁ kathām |
Vakṣye 'ham akhilair lokair āsevyām amṛtārthibhiḥ ||

Mahac-carita-sandhānam anusandhāna-sundaram |
Sandhānam iva dīpasya tamasy āśvāsadaṁ nṛṇām ||

The epic grandeur of *Anuṣṭubh* does indeed flow from the facile pen of Professor Panicker. The simplicity of his style renders the epic easily readable even to a student of moderate grounding in the language, since the rare usages, familiar to those who are firmly grounded in the intricacies of the traditional Pāṇinian system, are carefully avoided by the author, who, however, has at the same time taken due care to give proofs of his profound learning in Grammar, literature and philosophy, in appropriate places, both in the text proper of the metrical epic and in the commentary thereon in prose. Thus the aorist usages like '*prāsoṣṭa*', '*vyalāsīt*', are there, but very few and far between. The nature of the subject and the incidents have afforded ample scope to the poet to give vent to his poetic talent in his beautifully appropriate and occasional figures of speech, like *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Kāvyaliṅga*, *Dīpaka*, *Utprekṣā*, *Arthā-ntaranyāsa*, etc., a few instances of some of them may be noted below :

Yathā maṇih śāṇa-nigharṣaṇena
Sukalpitenākarajo manojñaḥ /
Tathā śiśuḥ sādhukṛtair viśiṣṭaiḥ
Saṁskāra-dharmaiḥ Sutarāṁ babhāse // (II, 28);
Gāmbhīrya-juḍ-bhāva-viśeṣa eva
Yatau tu kāṃ citta-gatiṁ vidadhyāt /
Itīkṣituṁ baddha-kutūhalā " bhād
Devāvalir vyomni na tāra-paṅktiḥ // (VI, 43);
. . . . *prabhaven na ko 'pi* /
Vāyum hi bandhuṁ gagane calantam // (IV, 44).

In a few places the poet embodies beautiful imageries in the course of his depictions and descriptions. Thus, we have the poetic imagery of :

(a) a temple-priest, as in—

Ārabāmbhodhir aniśaṁ kallola-prahatānakaḥ /
Mukhena ca dhamañ chaṅkhaṁ taṁ upāste mudānvitaḥ // (I, 3);

(b) of a mediaeval battle, as in—

Kālābhra-hastīndra-ghaṭā-sametā
Sāsāra-pūrāyudha-vātayodhā /
Vidyul-latā-khadga-karâ samagraṁ
Vyadrāvayad grīṣmam udagra-tāpam // (XVI, 11),

where the figure of goddess Caṇḍikā is sought to be suggested ;

(c) of a shout of victory, as in—

Loka-pramodāvaham ātma-pakṣa-
Mahā-jayaṁ taṁ madhurair ninādaiḥ /
Udghoṣayāmāsur udāra-caryāḥ
Sa-gandha-vāryā bhuvi cātakendrāḥ // (XVI, 12).

The poet has also taken opportunity to exhibit his poetic talent in : (1) the description of the preparation for marriage (III, 42-46) ; (2) the panegyric addressed to Lord Subrahmaṇya (VII, 5-16) ; (3) the delineation of the effect of this prayer on Nature (VII, 17-19) ; (4) the philosophy of *Vijñānādvaita* (VII, 47-48) ; (5) the Guru's address to his disciples (IX, 12-27) ; (6) the discourse on class and caste distinctions and its censure (X, 11-22); (7) censure of disunity (XI, 41-45); (8) the depiction of the effect of the seasons around the hermitage of the Guru (XVI, 3-15): (9) Introduction of Tagore (XVI, 36-38); (10) Nature's greetings to Tagore (XVI, 52-54); (11) Welcome-address to Tagore (XVI, 72-89); (12) Tagore's reply (XVI, 91-99); (13) the thoughts on the distress and humiliations undergone by the depressed classes (XVII, 11-14); (14) Mahadevan's address to the Indian Parliament at New Delhi, (XVII, 34-41); (15) Description of the peaceful environments at Sivadri (XVIII, 2-12); (16) the word-picture of Mahatma Gandhi (XVIII, 17-20); (17) public speech of Mahatma Gandhi (XVIII, 87-97); (18) Mahatma Gandhi's prayer-speech (XVIII, 108-111); (19) a eulogy of the *Bhārata* as the Motherland (XX, 9-11); (20) the life-sketch of Buddha (XX, 15-28); (21) that of Śaṅkarācārya (XX, 29-32); and (22) an elegy on Narayana Guru (XXI, 4-8). And, like the veritable *Bhagavadgītā* in the *Mahābhārata*, the 134 verses of canto XIII, (2-135) along with the 25 verses of canto (XIX, 22-46), constitute the very heart of the whole epic, since the philosophy of Narayana Guru is ably expounded therein.

The auto-commentary by Professor Panicker is much more than etc. aboration; it supplements the metrical epic on many occasions and is a mine of the author's profound learning in Indian philosophy and Sanskrit literature.

Like a true blue ancient Sanskrit poet, Professor Panicker has never bothered to give any definite data, about the hero, in points of year, month, date, etc., of the birth of a modern historical personage like Narayana Guru! On one occasion, at least, the poet seems to have faultered in the use of a deceptive syntactical construction ; in " *tapo-vidhānāya kṛta-tvaraṁ taṁ, kartuṁ yuvānaṁ munir ittham ūce* " (VI, 27 cd), the compound '*kṛta-tvaram*' would strictly imply that the youth, viz., Narayana Guru, was already making haste in which case the infinitive in '*kartum*' would be redundant ; the simple '*tvarā-yutam*' would have been happy and appropriate. While some of the misprints have been corrected, and some left to the reader, the printing of the different parts of the book-Cantos I-X, along with the verses 93-141 of Canto XIII-in the types quite different from those of the remaining part of it detracts the looks of the book. So does the choice of the types for the verses quoted in the commentary, e.g. those on the commentary on III, 24, which should have been printed in the same types, and not in those of the verses of the epic proper. The pages too are not numbered continuosly.

Professor Panicker amply deserves to be congratulated on having composed an epic, much in the line of Vālmīki and Aśvaghoṣa, and permanently preserved for posterity the poetic account of the life and mission of Shri Narayana Guru, who is thereby placed on an all-India level, beyond the limiting boundaries of the regional languages. The service thus rendered by Professor K. Balarama Panicker to the Classical Sanskrit literature duly stands to be emulated by other able Sanskrit scholars in other provinces of India, who should enrich the Sanskrit heritage by similar scholarly and poetic attempts on the life and mission of their respective great men. The Government of India, particularly the Ministry of Education, too, deserves to be thanked for having assisted the publication of the work.

N. M. KANSARA

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